



Daily Report

East Europe

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CONTENTS

30 May 1995

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INTER-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Statement by Central European Presidents on Bosnia [Budapest TV]	1
Slovak President on Need for United Europe [Bratislava Radio]	1
Kovac, Goncz Hold Keszthely Cooperation Talks [Bratislava Radio]	1

ALBANIA

Commentary on Corruption of Socialist Leadership [RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE 19 May]	3
Helsinki Committee Official on Human Rights [GAZETA SHQIPTARE 20 May]	3
LD Chairman Threatens To 'Take Up Arms' [GAZETA SHQIPTARE 16 May]	4
Right-Wing Leader Reaffirms Anticommunist Remark [GAZETA SHQIPTARE 7 May]	4

BULGARIA

Zhelev Denounces 'Violence' Against UN Troops [Sofia Radio]	6
Commentary Suspects Bias Behind Air Strikes [DUMA 26 May]	6
VMRO Leader Deplores 'Reverences' to Serbia [24 CHASA 22 May]	6
Russian Envoy Opposes NATO Expansion [Sofia Radio]	7
Article Views Reason for Clomov's Visit [168 CHASA 22-28 May]	7
Consultative Council Discusses NATO Membership [Sofia Radio]	8
Zhelev on EU, NATO Membership, Reform [Sofia Radio]	9
Videnov Said Disappointed With Zhelev Meeting [KONTINENT 22 May]	9
Zhelev on Air Force, Draft Army Bill [BULGARSKA ARMIYA 26 May]	10
New Commander Interviewed on Condition of Navy [PARI 23 May]	11

CZECH REPUBLIC

Defense Ministry Reports on 3 Hostages in Bosnia [Prague Radio]	13
Havel Interviewed on Summit, NATO Air Strikes [Prague Radio]	13
Nation Urged Not To Forget Ukraine, East Europe [LIDOVE NOVINY 27 Apr]	13
Kocarnik Reports on Brussels Ecofin Meeting [DENNI TELEGRAF 24 May]	14
Economic Prospects, Roadblocks to Growth Analyzed [RESPEKT 30 Apr]	14
Need for Modernization of Army MiG's Questioned [DENNI TELEGRAF 26 Apr]	17
Survey Views Popularity of Coalition Politicians [LIDOVE NOVINY 24 May]	17

SLOVAKIA

Comment: U.S. Attitude Toward NATO Admission [PRAVDA 24 May]	19
Duray Apologizes for Comments About Horn [PRAVDA 24 May]	19
Meciar on Privatization, Election Rigging [Bratislava Radio]	20
Meciar Discusses Privatization Issues [Bratislava Radio]	21
Carnogursky, Moravcik Address Pro-Kovac Rally [SME 25 May]	22
Police Continue To Verify DU Petition Sheets [SME 25 May]	22
DU Head Opposes Verification [Bratislava Radio]	23
Police Deny Verification Political [SMENA 24 May]	23
SDSS Wants Slovak TV Head To Resign [Bratislava Radio]	24

HUNGARY

Heads of State Hold News Conference [Budapest Radio]	25
Prime Minister Horn on Joining NATO, EU [Budapest TV]	25
Horn on NATO Membership, Balkan Crisis [Budapest TV]	26
Last Hungarian Scud-B Missile Destroyed [Budapest Radio]	27
Foreign Minister on Slovakia, HDUR, Bosnia [Budapest Raio]	27

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Izetbegovic Presides Over 'War Council' [AFP]	30
Report Suggests Izetbegovic Had 'Heart Attack' [SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 25 May]	30
Silajdzic Demands End to Containment Policy [Cologne Radio]	30
Ganic: Pale Serbs 'Mentally Deranged People' [Editorial Report]	31
Ljubijankic Death 'Planned Assassination' [Sarajevo Radio]	31
Foreign Minister To Strengthen Ties to Israel [Jerusalem Radio]	31
Croatian Leader Says Bosnia To Remain Croatian [TANJUG]	32
Croatian Official on Muslim-Croat Federation [TANJUG]	32
Milosevic Influence 'Very Limited' on Hostage Release [Tel Aviv DAVAR 29 May]	32
'Confusion' in UNPROFOR Command Reported [SRNA]	33
Serb Army Calls Captured UN Soldiers 'POW's' [TANJUG]	33
UN Criticized for Inaction in Safe Havens [Banja Luka Radio]	33
Bosnian Serbs: UN Resolutions 'Null and Void' [SRNA]	34
Platform for RS-RSK 'Unification' Adopted [DNEVNIK 26 May]	34
Joint Serb State Called 'United Serb Republic' [SRNA]	34
Zivanovic Warns of 'Thoughtless' Unification Plan [BORBA 23 May]	35

CROATIA

Commentary: Clinton Message Shows U.S. Support [Zagreb TV]	36
Tudjman Statehood Day Address to Assembly [Zagreb Radio]	36
Valentic Holds Talks With Iranian Delegation [Zagreb Radio]	42
Habibi, Silajdzic, Valentic Talks Viewed [Zagreb Radio]	42
Martic to Yeltsin: Stop Croat, Muslim Madness [TANJUG]	43
Mikelic Dismissed for Opposing Merger With RS [AFP]	43
Ousted Krajina Prime Minister's Statement [TANJUG]	43
RSK Assembly Approves RS, RSK Unification [Knin Radio]	45
'RSK' Condemns Pro-Milosevic Officials [SRNA]	45

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Gligorov Urges Greece To End Embargo [Athens ATHENS NEWS 26 May]	47
People's Democratic Party Holds First Congress [MIC]	47
Foreign Minister Leads First Delegation to PRC [MIC]	47
Islamic Holy Synod Suspends Macedonian Language [MIC]	48

POLAND

2 Polish Officers Identified Among UN Hostages [PAP]	49
Ministerial Team Formed To Deal With Hostages [Warsaw Radio]	49
Walesa, U.S. Senator Discuss Security, NATO [PAP]	49
Senator on Aid for NATO Entry [PAP]	49
Yelstin To Send Filatov to Katyn Memorial [Warsaw Radio]	49
Silesian Miners Demonstrate, Clash With Police [Warsaw Radio]	50
'Several' Injured in Clashes [AFP]	50
30 Hurt in 26 May Clashes [Warsaw Radio]	50
Clashes Spur Council Session [PAP]	50
Government Discusses Demonstrations [Warsaw Radio]	51
Interior Minister on Clashes [Warsaw Radio]	51
President Walesa Supports Trade Unionists [Warsaw Radio]	53
Walesa Meets Solidarity Leader in Katowice [PAP]	53
Krzaklewski Comments on Talks [PAP]	53
Olesky Offers To Meet Trade Union Leaders [Warsaw Radio]	54
Comments on Miners' Demands [PAP]	54
Walesa: Olesky Must Talk to Strikers or Resign [Warsaw Radio]	54
Urged To Find Compromise [PAP]	55
Olesky Seeks Walesa Meeting To Discuss Unrest [PAP]	55
Solidarity Leader Threatens More Strikes [Warsaw Radio]	55
Strikes Planned for 31 May, 1 Jun [GAZETA WYBORCZA 30 May]	56
'Creeping' Arms Industry Strike Continues [GAZETA WYBORCZA 30 May]	56
Ursus Plant Suspends Strike Until 19 Jun [PAP]	56
Sejm Backs Government View of Ursus Conflict [PAP]	56
Olesky: No Role for Special Services in Election [PAP]	56
UOP Head Stays in Office Despite SLD Motion [GAZETA WYBORCZA 30 May]	57
UOP Surveillance Allegations Denied [Warsaw Radio]	57
Sejm Dismisses Head of Supreme Chamber of Control [PAP]	58
Criminal Gangs Expanding Activities, Contacts [WPROST 2 Apr]	58

ROMANIA

Ministers Sign Protocol, View NATO Raid [Bucharest Radio]	60
HDUR Congress Under Way in Cluj-Napoca [Budapest Radio]	60
Congress Adopts Autonomy Concept [Bucharest Radio]	60
Tokes Addresses Congress [Budapest TV]	60
Marko Reelected Chairman [Budapest Radio]	61
PUNR Wants Parliamentary Immunity of MP's Lifted bat [Bucharest Radio]	61
Ethnic Leaders on Various Forms of Autonomy [Budapest TV]	62
PD Statement Notes 'Extremist Tones' at Congress [Bucharest Radio]	63
Ambassador Pleads for Increased Trade With Russia [ROMANIA LIBERA 23 May]	63
Data on 'Underground Economy' Operations [ADEVARUL 18 Jan]	64

SLOVENIA

Poll: 'Growing' Skepticism Toward EU Membership [Editorial Report]	67
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YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Belgrade Radio Lauds Grachev-Kozyrev Mission [Editorial Report]	68
Russian Envoy Views Bosnian Crisis Situation	68
Stresses Present Dangers [TANJUG]	68
Calls Bosnian Serb Actions Extreme [Belgrade TV]	68
Meets With Milosevic [TANJUG]	69

Jovanovic Discusses Foreign Policy Stand	69
On Serb Unification, NATO [Belgrade Radio]	69
Terms of Republics' Recognition [TANJUG]	70
Use of Force 'Unacceptable' [Belgrade TV]	70
Lifting of Sanctions [Belgrade TV]	71

Serbia

SPO: Hostage-Taking 'Shame' to Serbian Nation [Belgrade TV]	71
Opposition Parties React to NATO Attacks [NASA BORBA 26 May]	72
SPS's Vucelic: Serb Unification Proposal 'Scam' [Belgrade TV]	72

Kosovo

NATO Air Strikes Show 'Positive Persistence' [Kosova Daily Report]	73
Rugova Welcomes U.S. Move for Pristina Office [Editorial Report]	73
Serb Police Raid Albanian Homes, Harass LDK [Editorial Report]	74
Report Views Serb Police Raids, Repression [Editorial Report]	74

Statement by Central European Presidents on Bosnia

*LD2705103695 Budapest MTV Television Network
in Hungarian 0930 GMT 27 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The topic at the Central European presidents' talks is the human aspects of joining Europe. It was agreed in advance that this would be the topic, but events can change everything. I asked President Arpad Goncz whether it is possible to hold a conference without mentioning the south Slav events.

[Begin recording] [Goncz] It is impossible. It is obvious that we discussed the issue and prepared a joint statement. Please allow me to read it out:

The Central European presidents meeting in Keszthely have expressed their concern over the cruel events in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They condemn the continued fighting, the repeated ignoring of the UN's peacekeeping role and UN resolutions, the hindering of international humanitarian activities, and the irresponsible attacks on civilian targets.

It is true that there are cases when one must respond to force with force. The presidents support the recent NATO air attacks that were carried out at the request of the United Nations. They stress that the consistent attacks on Bosnian towns by the Pale Serbs, especially on Tuzla, and the use of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] officers as hostages and human shields is totally unacceptable for civilized societies. Keeping in mind that at risk are the lives of innocent people and the values that form the foundation of Europe, the presidents call on all parties concerned in Bosnia-Herzegovina to stop fighting immediately and to adhere strictly to the UN Security Council's resolutions. The appearance of barbarism at the end of the 20th century is impermissible.

Please allow me to ask my colleagues to commemorate the innocent and civilian victims of Bosnia with one minute of silence. [end recording]

Slovak President on Need for United Europe

*LD2605211895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 26 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The presidents of the Central European countries are meeting in the Hungarian town of Keszthely. [passage omitted] Gregor Martin Papucsek reports.

[Papucsek] [Passage omitted] All eight presidents briefed representatives of the international media on their discussion by the fire in the Helikon library only a while ago. [passage omitted]

President Michal Kovac assessed the day at the above briefing with these words:

[Begin Kovac recording] The discussion really focused on processes related to the integration in the European Union. I said that there probably is not a single statesman or politician in Europe who would openly speak against the idea of a united Europe. We all agree that a united Europe is more than a divided Europe, that a united Europe is better and safer than a divided Europe, and that the sooner Europe unites the sooner there will be security guarantees for individual nations of the united Europe.

I have recalled the well-known idea that the cost involved in securing stability, democracy, certainties, and prosperity of a united Europe will certainly be lower than costs involved in securing these values in a divided Europe. [end recording]

Kovac, Goncz Hold Keszthely Cooperation Talks

*LD2705195295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 27 May 95*

[Correspondent Gregor Martin Papucsek report from Keszthely]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Michal Kovac held talks here today with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz. The Slovak president assessed this meeting in an interview with Slovak radio:

[Begin recording] [Kovac] The opening of two border crossings was a valuable contribution to rapprochement as well as to the development of good-neighborly and friendly relations. I also said that the agreement on setting up a joint commission for economic cooperation is very important. I assured the Hungarian president that our current domestic political situation, relations between the president and the parliamentary majority, the president and the prime minister or the government cannot have any negative impact on the process leading to the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty.

President Goncz pointed out some matters relating to the Benes decrees, support to Hungarian culture and Hungarian institutions. He recalled Hungarian policy on self-administration—that is, minority self-administration.

We devoted a lot of attention to discussing the date of my visit to Hungary and the activities that should accompany this visit. We reached the conclusion that the visit should take place only after the ratification of the treaty in both parliaments. We also agreed to work on a declaration to be made on the occasion of this visit. This declaration should draw a thick line behind our past. The statement should go as far as our views

on the issues are identical. Matters on which the views are not fully identical will probably not be included in that declaration.

Of course, there are no problems with regard to the second part of the declaration, which should relate to our shared efforts to enter the European Union, our future cooperation and our position within the EU. [end recording]

[Papucsek] The question of my Austrian colleague was also about issues concerning European integration. My Austrian colleague was interested to know whether, also on this issue, there are controversies between the president and the government. Michal Kovac answered:

[Begin recording] [Kovac] With regard to our interest in European integration, I can see no differences between

my standpoint and that of Mr. Meciar. The government continues to work in accordance with the European association agreement and creates the necessary institutional conditions at home for our country to join the EU.

I am aware of the fact that, during his meeting with Mr. Meciar, Chancellor Vranitzky offered various opportunities for consultations, seminars, and conferences and that the government accepted them. Hence, my views on this political issue and the views held by the prime minister and, in fact, by the whole government are identical. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Commentary on Corruption of Socialist Leadership
AU2605161495 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE
in Albanian 19 May 95 p 1

[Commentary by D. Karaj: "The PSSh Leadership Is Caught in a Corruption Whirlpool"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, the Prosecutor's Office charged Namik Dokle, one of the leaders of the PSSh [Socialist Party of Albania], with misusing state funds when he was editor in chief of ZERI I POPULLIT. Dokle, formerly a strong PPSH [Party of Labor of Albania] loyalist, had been selected by Ramis Alia to work on the editorial staff of this newspaper. At that time, ZERI I POPULLIT had to present on its pages the scorched earth scenario of the black year of 1991. To do this, ZERI I POPULLIT had to be financially fitter than ever. By order of Ramis Alia, the budget (of the poorest state in the world) gave it \$400,000, allegedly to buy a printing house. The strong man and his associates were quick to spend the money: on tractors and fantastic allowances and salaries, with part of it going to communist newspapers to spread their poison against the fragile democracy emerging on the Albanian horizon.

Yesterday, Dokle was called to account for the misuse of the \$400,000. The inquiry was of a "Top Secret" [previous two words in English] nature. However, it is again from internal ZERI I POPULLIT sources that news reaches us and our readers. According to these sources, Dokle yesterday implicated his party friends, Pellumbi and Perparim Xhixha. Reports from PSSh headquarters say that the party has totally abandoned Dokle, while Dokle has implicated the party, thereby paying it back in the same coin. A significant expression of this conflict is how Dokle ordered (or rather kicked) deputy Shkelqim Cani out of his office. The reason for this, according to PSSh headquarters sources, was Cani's statement to the press blaming Dokle personally, over the \$400,000.

Dokle's charges against his party's leadership make one think that he, though one of the most important individuals involved in stealing the \$400,000, is, however, not the most important. Anticipated new developments could confirm the truth of Dokle's evidence.

The surprise of yesterday was undoubtedly that Perparim Xhixha, who had succeeded Dokle as editor in chief of ZERI I POPULLIT, was sent straight to prison immediately after Dokle's testimony. The reader may remember Dokle's statement during a televised debate with Cela: "I am not alone, I have a predecessor and a successor in this affair." This evidence caused Xhixha great problems. Yesterday, Xhixha became his

first victim. Only the prosecutor knows Xhixha's secrets as revealed by Dokle. However, Xhixha, in turn, has in his possession evidence that could seriously incriminate Dokle. Insiders at ZERI I POPULLIT were not able to confirm whether Dokle had surrendered documents concerning \$150,000, which was sent to Canada. If this were still unclear, the fact that Dokle helped his former associate Boydani to flee to Canada would very easily confirm it. As far as the present editor of ZERI I POPULLIT is concerned, his colleagues say he has knowledge that tractors, oil, flour, and other things have been bought with State Bank money for the profit of certain individuals at ZERI I POPULLIT.

Asked in confidence about Gellci's \$76,500, Dokle comments that Gellci is only one of those who have shared the money. Further investigations will lead to new "surprises" for the public, especially for members of the Socialist Party, who are stunned by the corruption of their leadership. Yet, to think that the \$400,000 is only the tip of the corruption iceberg of the Socialist leadership!

Helsinki Committee Official on Human Rights
AU2905181295 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE
in Albanian 20 May 95 p 1

[Interview with Arben Puto, leader of the Albanian Helsinki Committee, by Fatos Baxhaku; place and date not given: "Puto: 'Pressure on Justice and Police Violence'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—Police violence, the language of hatred used in the press, and frequent cases of pressure on the judicial system are, according to the Albanian Helsinki Committee, the problems of the fragile Albanian democracy. Is it a question of deliberate acts, or are these problems brought about by the Albanians' most recent past? Professor Arben Puto, one of the founders and present leaders of the Albanian Helsinki Committee responds to all these questions.

[Baxhaku] Which are or could be, in your opinion, the most preoccupying problems in the field of human rights?

[Puto] We have received a great number of complaints from various citizens, accusing the police of using violence. In many police commissariats, different citizens have complained that violence has been used indiscriminately against them, guilty and not guilty alike. We have referred these cases to the relevant authorities and made them public in the press. Unfortunately, notwithstanding our protests, this phenomenon has not been curbed yet. I am of the opinion that there are many persons who have entered the police force without having the necessary disposition to be trusted with such a delicate job.

We have also remarked on the performance of our judicial system: There are attempts being made to interfere with its work—something that affects the independence of justice, which is one of the principal buttresses of the juridical state.

[Baxhaku] Are there any other problems that give cause for concern?

[Puto] One of the most conspicuous phenomena is the language of hatred used on the pages of certain newspapers, particularly of the party newspapers. The Albanian Helsinki Committee has called on them to minimize this as much as possible, because it undoubtedly has a negative impact upon democracy's good performance. On the other hand, the imposition of high taxes on the press is, to a certain extent, damaging its independence as an instrument that contributes to the development of democracy.

[Baxhaku] What do you think are the causes of these phenomena?

[Puto] First of all, it is the difficulties of the transition period itself. Then, in Albania, the situation becomes more difficult because of the circumstances created by the dictatorial rule holding the country under its sway. Deep isolation and severe class struggle are now finding their expression in the ongoing political confrontation. The problem becomes more difficult still given the general cultural level of the country as a whole, and because of the fact that intellectuals are still in retreat. A more active stand on their part, as the most cultivated segment of the population, would, beyond any doubt, benefit the performance of democracy in Albania.

LD Chairman Threatens To 'Take Up Arms'

*AU3005082895 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE
in Albanian 16 May 95 p 1*

[Report by Fatos Baxhaku and Rezart Xhaxhiu: "Kola: If the Socialist Party Comes to Power, We Would Take up Arms"]

[Text] Tirana—Guns have appeared on the scene of the Albanian political battle. "If the Socialist Party (PSSH) comes to power, we as its eternal opponents, would not plead with them to give our rights, through petitions, but would take up arms," is the sentence that has given rise to a storm of polemics. The protagonist of this unusual event in the most recent history of Albania is Kurt Kola, the reelected chairman of the Former Political Prisoners and current chairman of the Right League [LD]. The reference to guns appeared at the end of the report he gave at the conference that reelected him chairman of the organization. Having passed almost unnoticed during the days on which the conference was

going ahead, this paragraph on guns became the topic of a declaration published by the Albanian Helsinki Committee only yesterday, which reminds first Kurt Kola and then the LD that, in a democracy, the only means of achieving success are those that categorically rule out the use of force. "It is a basis for incriminating the author of that statement," the committee protested.

Another outstanding LD name, Sabri Godo, the chairman of the Republicans, was quick to distance himself from his colleague of the same right-wing tranche. Yesterday again, it was the chairman of the socialists, Dokle, who reacted very harshly, making the following remark: "It is the language of 1944."

The first person to comment on this paragraph was Godo. "It is only Kola's point of view expressed at the Third National Conference of Political Persecutees," Godo declared for *GAZETA SHQIPTARE*. "Our League has pledged to honor the rules of democracy and the people's will, the more so if we come to power after the coming elections."

Dokle of the PSSH was much sourer. "Before asking my opinion," the PS vice chairman responded to the question put by *GAZETA SHQIPTARE*, "you had better ask Kola if he was drunk. If he is still under the effect of the booze, then there are others who could remind Kola that wisdom can never be manifested by guns or by taking up arms. To make such irresponsible statements today means still having the mentality of 1944, of 1913, or, worse yet, of the last century. I am glad that the Albanian Helsinki Committee has taken a correct stand regarding this problem." The Helsinki Committee itself has dedicated two pages to the famous paragraph. It is perhaps the most severe declaration in its short history. "Judging in principle," says the committee's protest, "a statement of such content gives grounds to incriminate its author for positions—even appeals—that run counter to the constitutional dispositions that are actually regulating political life in this country. In a democratic regime like ours, problems are solved only by democratic means and methods, and there is no room for ultimatums, threats, and calls for the use of violence. One gets the impression that Kurt Kola is not conscious of the extreme dangerous consequences stemming from declarations of this nature."

Right-Wing Leader Reaffirms Anticommunist Remark

*AU3005075195 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE
in Albanian 7 May 95 p 1*

[Interview with Kurt Kola, chairman of the Association of Former Political Prisoners, by Edmond Laci; place

and date not given: "Kola: The Helsinki Committee Is All Communists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—Kurt Kola does not regret any of what he has said. His statement "if the PS [Socialist Party] were in power, we as their eternal adversaries would take up arms" still remains valid, even though he has met with sharp reaction, including from the Albanian Helsinki Committee. "It is an expression addressed to communism," says Kola for GAZETA SHQIPTARE, "and if the PS has not yet distanced itself from the PP [Party of Labor], then they have no one to blame but themselves for what we are saying against communism."

[Laci] How do you take the harsh reactions not only from the PS, but also from the Albanian Helsinki Committee?

[Kola] I am sorry for the declaration of the Helsinki Committee in Tirana—which, as far as I am concerned, remains a committee of communists because over the last three years, it has never raised its voice in support of the big problems with which former political persecutees are faced, while as soon as socialists are taken to task ever so little, this committee is always very quick to protest.

[Laci] You have responded to the Albanian Helsinki Committee with a declaration. What did you argue in your response?

[Kola] Since they claim to be advocates of human rights in Albania, I asked them where they were when violence was used against the hunger strikers in August 1991; when [PS leader] Kastriot Islami declared in public that if they came to power, they would knock some heads together and drag people along the streets; when PS Deputy Chairman Hajdaraga called the thousands of former political persecutees eunuchs and handicapped individuals; or when Dokle called my expression a "1994 call," while it was his party that took over power by force of arms, continuing its violence against the Albanians for four successive decades. Why does the Helsinki Committee not protest when RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE describes the PS as the PP's successor? Why does it not protest against Ilir Hoxha, who has launched calls for revenge against the defeated ones—implying the former political persecutees? It is for all these reasons that I think the Helsinki Committee in Tirana is defending communism.

[Laci] Was there any negative reaction against your expression inside your association?

[Kola] It was applauded by all the association members when I read it. This fact alone, I believe, is sufficient evidence.

Zhelev Denounces 'Violence' Against UN Troops

AU2905132695 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev has sent a telegram to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali in which he denounces the inadmissible violations of international legal norms after the grave events in Bosnia-Herzegovina in which the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] troops became victims of violence.

This report has been released by the Presidency Press Center.

Commentary Suspects Bias Behind Air Strikes

AU2905134995 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
26 May 95 p 7

[Commentary by Ivaylo Georgiev: "Is NATO Bombing the Peace?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] NATO combat aircraft have attacked Serb artillery positions near Pale after the Bosnian Serbs failed to fulfill one of the conditions of the ultimatum related to stopping the artillery fire against Sarajevo. The condition involves returning four guns and mortars that were stolen from a UN storage facility and the use of heavy artillery in the demilitarized zone of the Bosnian capital.

The punitive operation would appear to be justified had the ultimatum issued prior to it by General Rupert Smith, commander of the UN troops in Bosnia, not evoked a certain hope. This was so because, for the first time in the three-year history of the Bosnian war, a British general issued an ultimatum on behalf of the United Nations and NATO that was aimed at both sides, i.e. both at the Serbs and the Bosnian Muslims. This act should have been and must be greeted as the first attempt to establish a unbiased attitude toward the sides to the conflict, especially after it has repeatedly been proved that, mainly in the winter and the spring, the Muslims were responsible for most of the cease-fire violations. The findings and statements of Sergey Lavrov, Russia's permanent representative to the United Nations, are indicative. According to him, the troops of the Bosnian Muslim government must not remain unpunished just because that government supports the Contact Group's peace plan. Mr. Lavrov warned that they cannot remain unpunished while they violate the cease-fire and kill Blue Helmets. It is precisely this fact that explains why each time his U.S. colleague Mrs. Albright expressed indignation at the fact that the United Nations refuses to bomb the Serbs, the world public was kept in the dark as to who really is violating the cease-fire and trying to create the pretext for a foreign military intervention.

In this particular case, the new NATO bombardment of Serb artillery positions would have been more clear and understandable if NATO had displayed the same speed and determination when the violations were by the Muslim side. Furthermore, it was precisely the Bosnian Government that stated officially that it does not want to extend the cease-fire and that it intends to recapture the territories it lost through the use of arms.

One thing is clear: If it appears that the British general's ultimatum was only a pretext to initiate an aerial attack against then Serbs, then it will become obvious that NATO bombed the peace—the same peace that can still be achieved.

VMRO Leader Deplores 'Reverences' to Serbia

AU2905093295 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian
22 May 95 p 8

[Article by Krasimir Karakachanov, cochairman of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies, VMRO: "Enough Reverences to Serbia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bulgarian-Serbian relations have been burdened for decades by redundant prejudices and unresolved problems that have accumulated. Nevertheless, Serbia is our neighbor and we are interested in resolving disputable issues and normalizing relations.

The parliamentary delegation that visited Belgrade last week tried to achieve this. The refusal of the Union of Democratic Forces to send its representatives to the Serbian capital was a mistake that deprived the basic opposition force of the possibility to directly pose the issues that the party has been advocating for a long time precisely where they should be posed.

The tone that Serbian Prime Minister Kontic allowed himself to use was diplomatically described by [Bulgarian Socialist Party Deputy] Aleksandur Marinov as "odd," while others described it as "arrogant." Indeed, such a tone is inadmissible at meetings at such a level, and more so today, when Serbia needs our political and moral support rather than the other way around, something Kontic should have known. No clear and precise answer has been received about the issue of the Bulgarian minority's rights in the Western Outlands. In addition, no answer has been received regarding the claims about the existence of a Serbian minority in Bulgaria. Indeed the Bulgarian delegation heard a lot in Belgrade about the Serbian problems, but did not receive any answer about the Bulgarian ones.

In his foreign policy, Prime Minister Videnov obviously puts great value on relations with Serbia. One could only

understand the reverences he made twice to Serbia by calling the Bulgarian Western Outlands East Serbia and by posing the issue of lifting the sanctions against Serbia at the Black Sea Cooperation meeting in Athens. However, Bulgarian foreign policy cannot remain an eternal series of reverences. We must demand guarantees for the rights of the Bulgarian minority in Serbia. We must also demand from Serbia that it relinquish its claims toward Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] and respect its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Russian Envoy Opposes NATO Expansion

AU2605181195 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation wants cooperation with NATO, but strongly opposes the intentions regarding the organization's global expansion, Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Avdeyev declared today. He informed National Assembly Chairman Blagovest Sendov that there is no truth in the reports that have appeared in the foreign and Bulgarian press of a change in Russia's position following the summit meeting between Presidents Yeltsin and Clinton. Ambassador Avdeyev said he also had instructions to inform President Zhelyu Zhelev of this.

The Russian ambassador was visiting the National Assembly chairman together with a Russian parliamentary delegation that is in Sofia to attend the roundtable discussion on the theme: prospects for Bulgarian-Russian relations.

Article Views Reason for Chernomyrdin Visit

AU2905170995 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian
22-28 May 95 p 16

[Article by Yuriy Aslanov: "Chernomyrdin Actually Came Because of Oil Pipeline"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Many tried to grasp the reason behind the visit of Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin to Bulgaria, as well as the reasons for its repeated postponement. Some people even thought that there is a chance of improving relations with Moscow, against the background of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] rule—but they forget that the new Russian political elite does not have anything in common with the former CPSU, and that in certain respects, it treated that party with a cruel determination, while the BSP continues to be genetically related to the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Other people talked long and in vain about NATO, despite the fact that for Russia this is only an ethical

question—actually, against whom do you want to join NATO?

Chernomyrdin's visit has only one goal—testing the possibility of allowing the Russian oil and gas pipelines for southern Europe to cross our territory. Obviously, this goal has not been achieved, because the mistrust between the two states, accumulated at the highest level in recent years, could not be overcome.

Bulgaria is only one of the possible routes. The gas and oil pipelines could pass through Greece, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and Serbia.

For Russia, this is not an ideological issue or a means of politically influencing Europe but rather a trade issue of first-rate importance.

However, for us the decision is fateful. Bulgaria has no way of avoiding its dependence on Russia in anything related to raw materials. The attempts to do this could be fatal. Russia does not care what variant would be selected, as long as it resolves the problem.

The politicians in Bulgaria are divided into three categories: people who understand everything we have said so far and have the opportunity to participate in resolving the problem; people who understand the problem, but do not have the opportunity to participate in resolving it; and people who understand nothing. The rest—those who oppose talks with Russia and actively try to prevent the achievement of agreements—are neither politicians who serve Bulgaria nor people who should engage in politics.

Somewhat unexpectedly, the incumbent cabinet approached the talks with Russia in a rather unconvincing manner. This applies to both Moscow and Sofia. Russia is interested in stabilizing the state industry as an economic, rather than political guarantee of protecting the Russian trade interests. This excluded the possibility of having talks with private organizations. Zhan Videnov's people saw in the Russian behavior an attempt to apply political pressure on the issue of private business in Bulgaria. It was only after being threatened with failure at the talks that the cabinet eliminated "Tron" and "Multigroup," however, not before receiving firm guarantees that they could join the game at a later stage if the project about the Russian-Bulgarian concession materializes.

It would not be inappropriate on the part of Russia to seek political guarantees for the project. Indeed, according to reports, Chernomyrdin has clearly hinted to Videnov that Turkey and Greece are creating the impression that they could guarantee the long-range prospects of trade relations with Russia better than

Bulgaria, even at the political level. Apparently, those neighbors of ours have clearer and more lastingly defined concepts of their national interests. In this context, political pressure has definitely been applied to the Bulgarian governmental delegation, President Zhelev, and Prime Minister Videnov, both in Moscow and in Sofia. However, this is something usual in international trade relations. It would be stupid to hope that Russia will transfer control over its pipelines to the hands of a state that tomorrow—if Videnov or Yeltsin falls—will change its course, and, consequently, its bilateral trade regime. It would also be naive to think that Moscow would entrust people whose commercial acumen is limited to the scale between the baseball bat and the Mercedes [reference to Bulgarian mafia] with this control.

Whoever comes to power in Russia—a nutty liberal, an orthodox Communist, or a radical nationalist—he would certainly not change anything in Russia's trade interests. In Bulgaria, this is not certain at all. Regardless of how much Moscow loves us, it is troubled by the fact that we have been ruled by various people, one of whom wanted to take Moscow to the International Court, another who wanted to break off diplomatic relations, or yet another who, while ingratiating himself with Moscow, does not know what the one who will come after him will do.

At the talks, the Russian side remained with the suspicion that Videnov's government relies too much on preserving the current political status quo in Moscow. Chernomyrdin's team was perplexed by the fact that, even on specific trade issues, Videnov and his people were interested mainly in the internal political situation in Russia, despite the fact that this issue was not a subject of the talks. Figuratively, both Zhelev and Videnov have tried to negotiate from a position called Yeltsin. This implies either ill will, or, more likely, ignorance regarding the Russian bureaucratic reflexes. There was not a single member of the Chernomyrdin team who was inexperienced in participating in the administration of a superpower, whose power was not in his head rather than in his muscles, and who did not know how much vodka he should drink at an official ceremony.

Excluding the last, Videnov's team comprised no equal members, and ignoring the fact that there is no love lost between Chernomyrdin and Yeltsin, our government tried to impose on Chernomyrdin conditions springing from the internal political situation in the two countries, or the muscles of "Multigroup."

In the final analysis, if Russia prefers Bulgaria as a partner, something it really wants, it obviously would have to resort to [former Bulgarian Prime Minister]

Lukanov's services. Then it will finally become apparent that, from the very beginning, Videnov's cabinet has been conceived as a scam in a dirty game. Actually, it appears that the thing with Lukanov has already been agreed upon.

Consultative Council Discusses NATO Membership

*AU2905174695 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 29 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] On 29 May, the Consultative Council on National Security held a 150-minute meeting. At the meeting, President Zhelev posed the necessity of clearly and categorically declaring Bulgaria's position on NATO membership, on the basis of the consensus of the parliamentary party and coalitions and the state institutions. This was reported after the meeting by Ivaylo Trifonov, spokesman for the council.

Mr. Trifonov also pointed out that Prime Minister Zhan Videnov reported on a document called Basic Elements of Bulgaria's Position on Guaranteeing National Security Along the Line of Integrating Into European and Euro-Atlantic Structures.

Stefan Staykov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, reviewed Bulgaria's relations with NATO in recent years.

Dimitur Pavlov, minister of defense, briefed the members of the Consultative Council on National Security on Bulgaria's participation in specific maneuvers within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program.

Nikolay Kamov, chairman of the National Assembly Commission on Foreign Policy, briefed the participants on the National Assembly debate on Bulgaria's membership in NATO.

Representatives of the parliamentary factions of the Union of Democratic Forces, the People's Union, and the Rights and Freedoms Movement supported a clear and categorical declaration on Bulgaria's willingness to become a full-fledged NATO member.

The Consultative Council on National Security adopted a decision according to which the Commission on Foreign Policy and the Commission on National Security, together with the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly, should continue to discuss the issue of Bulgaria's membership in NATO and guaranteeing our national security along the line of our integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic structures.

Zhelev on EU, NATO Membership, Reform

AU2905172595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In a special interview for Bulgarian national radio, President Zhelev stressed the necessity of working out a comprehensive strategy on Bulgaria's future full-fledged membership in the EU. This strategy should follow a specific timetable if it is to be successful, President Zhelev said.

The process of our admission to the EU will be long and painful, because we will have to synchronize our legislature with the legislatures of the EU members, liberalize the economy, and reach the standard of the developed Western countries.

According to President Zhelev, Bulgaria must now do the following basic things:

[Begin Zhelev recording] I think that we must accelerate the reforms in the country. This is the most important thing. This is our calling card, which we will present at the EU, at the appropriate EU structures with which we are negotiating. This also is the calling card with which we will introduce ourselves at the international financial institutes when we request financial and other assistance. Therefore the issue of the reforms in our country is not a paper issue that depends on a certain political party or coalition. It is a national issue about which there must be a consensus, precisely as there is a consensus regarding Bulgaria's admission to the EU. Regardless of how much we insist and pester the relevant EU institutions, if there are no reforms in our country and no real progress toward a real, free, and modern market economy and truly democratic laws and institutions, they will pay no attention to us.

This is precisely why we should stress our reforms—political, economic, and legislative reforms. [end recording]

According to Dr. Zhelev, Bulgaria's membership in NATO is, I quote, the political ticket with which we will enter the EU. Not a single postcommunist state will become a member of the EU without being a NATO member. I am absolutely sure of this, the Bulgarian president said in his interview for Bulgarian national radio.

Videnov Said Disappointed With Zhelev Meeting

AU2905075795 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
22 May 95 p 3

[Report by Boryana Kostova]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia—A source at the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] headquarters has informed

KONTINENT that Prime Minister Zhan Videnov considers that his Boyana meeting with President Zhelev was extremely weak. The BSP leader is reported to have voiced his disappointment with the talks at a meeting of the BSP Executive Bureau.

Videnov is reported to have said that Zhelev, although he was the initiator, was not prepared for the dialogue, which was announced as a step toward smoothing out the differences between the two leaders. In fact, according to the source, no dialogue as such was achieved. Zhelev and Videnov are reported to have used the meeting to go over the old ground yet again and to tell each other that they are "tough nuts."

According to Socialist deputies, Zhelev was merely playing to the media in his display of willingness for a private meeting with the prime minister. In this way, he wanted to convince journalists and the public that he was not the one responsible for the strained relations between the two supreme state institutions. In contrast to the cheerful mood he showed at the second meeting in Boyana Meadows (in the summer of 1992, when he gave a news conference critical of the Filip Dimitrov administration), the president is reported to have been extremely reserved at his meeting with Videnov. Most of the time he listened in silence. Zhelev is said to have said no words about reconciliation, but reiterated certain old charges—for example, concerning recomunization and the NATO issue.

The source from the BSP headquarters said that the claims by certain newspapers that Videnov practically apologized to Zhelev for the cold war between the cabinet and the presidency were complete fabrications. In fact, the prime minister displayed goodwill by letting it be understood that the BSP and the government would support all sensible proposals that the president made. However, Videnov is said to have firmly stated that there would be no compromises merely for the sake of good tone.

At the meeting Videnov reportedly said that the BSP will not alter its position on the Land Act and that if the president attacked the party through the Constitutional Court, this would be regarded as evidence of a desire to block the agrarian reform and, in particular, to obstruct the cabinet. He told Dr. Zhelev that the issue of Bulgaria's joining NATO could not be a bargaining point between the two either. The prime minister reportedly expressed the view that, if Bulgaria supports its own interests, it should not unconditionally accept the idea of joining the North Atlantic Pact, because to speak of NATO membership at this stage would mean failing to appreciate either the economic or the political consequences of such an act.

According to the source, Zhelev and Videnov also failed to agree on personnel policy regarding ambassadorial appointments abroad. The president allegedly refused to discuss recalling certain ambassadors, although Videnov supported his demand with factual evidence of diplomatic blunders committed.

The BSP headquarters source said that normal statesmanlike relations and understanding cannot exist between the prime minister and the president as long as the president fails to realize that Bulgaria is not a presidential republic. Videnov was also a tough character and would not agree to follow anyone's orders, let alone the president's.

According to the source at the BSP headquarters, the head of state must cease his attempts to impose his will in every case; otherwise the BSP will be obliged to bring forward the presidential elections, even though it is in its own interest for Zhelyu Zhelev to complete his term of office so that he can make further blunders.

Zhelev on Air Force, Draft Army Bill

*AU2905150895 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 26 May 95 pp 1,3*

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Colonel Konstantin Lichev on 23 May at "Georgi Benkovski" Air Force Higher School in Dolna Mitropoliya: "President Highly Values Bulgarian Air Force, But Is Not Satisfied With Certain Draft Amendments in Last Army Bill Draft"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Lichev] Mr. President, what is the reason for your sympathy for the Air Force?

[Zhelev] A supreme commander in chief cannot sympathize with certain military branches and be indifferent toward others. I have understanding for all branches of the Bulgarian Army, including the Air Force. I would like to be more specific: My personal relations with the Air force began in 1952, when, as a high school student, I joined the Shumen Airclub and underwent paratroopers' training. Later, when I was a student at Sofia University, I joined the Sofia Airclub. I have parachuted in Shumen, Gorna Oryakhovitsa, and Buzhurishte. All in all, I have jumped about 30 times from Junkers and Po-2 airplanes with "Autoflug" and "PD-47" parachutes. One could not gamble with this hobby of mine when I was young. Today, the Air Force continues to be an interesting and romantic branch, despite its difficulties. I became convinced of this when I viewed the air show of the Air Force school cadets. The Air Force today has an exceptional importance for Bulgaria's security. Bulgaria deserves to be protected by a powerful and well-equipped Air Force. In addition, we have excellently trained pilots and Air Force specialists.

[Lichev] What Air Force would you like Bulgaria to have?

[Zhelev] I would like very much for the Bulgarian pilots to use the most modern aircraft. I would like us to have the most modern anti-aircraft systems in order to guarantee the country's security. We are in the Balkans and have no insurance against surprises. Various conflicts have been looming to the west of our country for already several years. They could always be a source of surprises.

[Lichev] Would you help the Air Force to acquire new training and combat aircraft?

[Zhelev] This is an almost rhetorical question. The answer could only be positive. Of course I am prepared to help. However, this does not come down to goodwill or moral or political support, which I am always prepared to render to this idea. This issue comes down to money, a lot of money. Unfortunately, at this stage, we do not have this kind of money. Nevertheless, if goodwill exists, many Air Force problems could be resolved. I mean the combat and training aircraft that we must purchase. They are not that expensive. As Air Force experts told me, sports aircraft could perform important work in maintaining the good shape of our military pilots. At the very beginning, it would be possible to establish which pilots have the qualities of combat pilots. They will be transferred to the Air Force, where they could continue their training on more expensive and modern combat aircraft.

[Lichev] What are the main obstacles to the reform in the Bulgarian Army and especially the Air Force?

[Zhelev] I think that the reform in the Bulgarian Army is not only possible—it is necessary. The means that are needed for implementing the reform, especially in the Air force, are not that great. I mean the new organization that is envisaged for the Army. It is more efficient and updated on the basis of the modern conditions and realities. The rearmament of the Army, and the means that are needed for this are another issue. I have categorically supported and continue to support the reform in the Bulgarian Army, and especially in the Air Force. There are no real obstacles to the reform in the Air Force.

Things are more complicated in the infantry. New barracks must be constructed. Great means are necessary for redeployment. The Air Force does not have this problem.

[Lichev] Will the supply of the Bulgarian Army, and most of all the Air Force, with the direly needed spare parts and weapons improve after the visit of Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin?

[Zhelev] During the talks with Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, it transpired that we have no differences and there are no contradictions between us. One half of the Russian debt to Bulgaria will be paid with spare parts for the Bulgarian Army and primarily the Air Force, because its needs are most acute.

[Lichev] Actually, how big is the Russian debt to Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] They say it amounts to \$100 million. We demand that one half of it be paid with spare parts for our army. This is our firm position.

[Lichev] Mr. President, are you satisfied with the Defense and Armed Forces Bill that was adopted at the first reading by the National Assembly?

[Zhelev] In principle yes, but I disagree with some of the related proposals. Later, I will express my disagreement and reservations. They relate primarily to the attempt of certain people to distort certain prerogatives, and primarily the prerogatives of the president as the supreme commander in chief. I think party interests stand behind this. The issue of who is the president should not have any importance. The Army and its commander in chief should not be deprived of the prerogatives to act rapidly under certain circumstances.

New Commander Interviewed on Condition of Navy
AU2905084495 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 23 May 95
p 6

[Interview with Vice Admiral Khristo Kontrov, appointed Bulgarian Navy commander on 5 May, by Daniela Farkhi in Varna; place and date not given: "A Shipbuilding Program Is the Chance for the Navy To Survive"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Farkhi] Vice Admiral Kontrov, what condition is the Bulgarian Navy actually in at the moment?

[Kontrov] Like the other armed services, the Navy is in a critical state today. Approximately 70 percent of our vessels have exceeded their design service lives, and we lack the funds to overhaul and maintain the fleet. In practice, at the moment the fleet has only one operating submarine. Following the visit by representatives of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff, we were assured that we would receive money to cover the fleet's most urgent needs. The Defense Ministry has already guaranteed that it will enable additional funds to be allocated to reequip our two submarines with new accumulator batteries. We have also launched programs to update our Navy helicopters and reequip our frogmen. Personally speaking, I am optimistic about the Navy's future. It is true that we are operating on minimum

funds, but the goodwill that the Defense Ministry and General Staff representatives showed may ensure that we received the equipment that we need most urgently at the moment.

To ensure the optimum development of the Navy, including the renewal of materials and equipment, we need 11 billion leva. However, the amount that we hope to receive is barely 5 billion leva. As regards modernizing the fleet, we have assurances from the Council of Ministers that it will start a Bulgarian shipbuilding program in the near future. According to naval experts, this is the only reliable means of providing new fighting vessels and ensuring the Bulgarian Navy's survival. [passage omitted]

[Farkhi] Is the Navy's personnel up to strength today?

[Kontrov] The personnel issue is the Navy's most painful problem at the moment. It is even more painful than the problem with materials and equipment. For several years now, there has been a steady drain of personnel from the officer corps. The reasons are purely economic. I cannot condemn people who transfer to the merchant fleet because of the higher salaries. This is a natural consequence of applying the new market relations. However, on the other hand, it is unfair for personnel who have received free training and acquired qualifications that are valid the whole world over to leave even before completing their agreed service contracts. At the moment, about 20 percent of the officer posts are vacant. This figure is disturbing enough, and we are already at the limit of our possibilities as regards maintaining combat readiness. I believe that the state should give top priority to solving the personnel issue, like certain other Balkan states and Czechia, for example, where people who have received a free military education are obliged to serve in the Armed Forces for a prescribed period. A month ago, I submitted a proposal of this kind to the National Security Commission and am awaiting its decision. [passage omitted]

[Farkhi] How many ships will you sell, and what will be their initial negotiable price?

[Kontrov] The Navy's first and most important task continues to be to guarantee Bulgaria's sovereignty over its territorial waters. It is another matter that today the means for achieving this goal are increasingly expressed in peacekeeping initiatives and establishing mutual trust between the countries of the Black Sea basin. Our greatest successes in preserving our national security are achieved in our international activities. Long before the Partnership for Peace initiative was established, the Bulgarian Navy laid the foundations for cooperation between the Black Sea fleets. I would

say that at the present stage, the relations between the navies of the Black Sea states should serve as an example to the politicians. In this respect, Bulgaria has

already established its authority as an initiator of good-neighborly relations and mutual aid between the Black Sea fleets.

Defense Ministry Reports on 3 Hostages in Bosnia

LD2905133395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Captain Oldrich Holecsek from the press office of the Czech Ministry of Defense informed Czech Radio on the latest situation of Czech officers taken hostage in Bosnia.

[Begin Holecsek recording] According to today's information relayed by Major General Rostislav Kotil, the commander of Sector I [Southern Sector] of the UNPROFOR-UNCRO [UN Protection Force-UN Confidence Restoration Operation] mission, it is most likely that three Czech officers are still being held hostage, two of them being kept at two different places in Pale, while the third officer is being held in the town of Kasindo. We have information suggesting that their movement has been restricted, but, it seems they are no longer chained to the heavy weapons warehouses, as the original information indicated.

The Ministry of Defense is in permanent contact with the family members of all the captured Czech officers. We have been informed that the soldiers are guaranteed their basic needs—sleep and food. [end recording]

Havel Interviewed on Summit, NATO Air Strikes

LD2805165395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 28 May 95

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Martin Dorazin in Keszthely on 28 May from the "Conversations at Lany" program—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Dorazin] [Passage omitted] Let us talk about the spiritual topics and ideas brought to the presidential summit by the presidents. Let us talk about what the concept of the European area and the integration of this territory into Europe means to them.

[Havel] I would like to dwell shortly on the sense of these meetings as, perhaps, it is not immediately obvious. No treaties or agreements are concluded here; no decisions are made that will make front page headlines. However, I am sure that these meetings have a long-term impact.

In fact, there is no historical precedent to such regular meetings resulting in a permanent forum for a joint discussion of the representatives of Central European countries that form one area. This area is not merely geographical. First and foremost, it is a spiritual and—to some extent—political, historical, and experiential area. [passage omitted]

In my view, the meeting was successful and surpassed our expectations as it showed that the presidents agreed

on the discussed matters to a great extent. In fact, all of them agreed on the long-term historical importance of European integration processes. They agreed that it was important to point out and to explain to people the spiritual dimension and the sense of these processes to prevent the perception of the European Union as being solely an administrative unit dealing all the time with issues such as customs, tariffs, quotas, and so on. On the contrary, we have to point out that this is a historic opportunity when Europe, which always used to be a compact, although immensely diversified, political body, is for the first time in its history, trying to build its political order on the principle of equality and cooperation of all, as well as on sharing some values. It is no longer building simply so the more powerful enforce order on the less powerful. This historical dimension of the European Union and of the unification process is something that is worth paying for, even though some complications may arise. [passage omitted]

[Dorazin] [passage omitted] Do you think that a NATO air strike is an adequate reaction in defense of principles?

[Havel] There are situations when it is necessary to protect certain values, unfortunately, even by force. Too much hesitation, too much procrastination, too many concessions to evil have never paid off in Europe. We know all this very well, since we remember Munich [1938]. I really believe that the use of force was necessary. I even believe that it should have been used long ago and that many human lives could have been saved.

The attacks on ammunition dumps and similar actions so far will not stop the war. However, if nothing else, they will prove to the fighters, and by these I mean, first of all, Karadzic's Bosnian Serbs, that all the warnings issued so far were meant seriously, and that the international community will no longer tolerate such flagrant violations of all international standards, verging already on a certain kind of international terrorism. [passage omitted]

It seems to me that the international community will have to reassess its attitude towards the whole conflict.

Nation Urged Not To Forget Ukraine, East Europe

95CH0244A Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 27 Apr 95 p 1

[Commentary by Tomas Zahradnicek: "'A Suspended One' in Prague"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Do you like it so much? Correspondents from Kiev newspapers gratuitously asked their Czech colleagues yesterday. They had learned that

their president, Leonid Kuchma, was supposed to have said, on the occasion of a meeting with the Czech prime minister, that while he was here he felt like an ambassador from a primitive sociable society.

The Czech feeling that we once more have little in common with the area of East Europe is justified after five years of reforms. President Kuchma himself has stated that Ukraine actually did not decide until last year to embark on the road along which we embarked as far back as 1989. However, a feeling of exclusivity, a feeling of joy occasioned by our flight back to the West, should not lead us into forgetting the East completely. The area which does not aspire to membership in NATO and which, at the same time, is consistently resisting the renewal of dominant influence on the part of Moscow, calls for a special Eastern policy.

"It was with considerable understanding that I read the words uttered by President Walesa, in which he said that Poland has no desire to be a buffer state. And we also do not wish to be such a state," Czech parliamentary delegates were told by Chairman Olijnyk of the Ukrainian parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee. The better things look for Czech entry into NATO, the worse things are for the Ukrainian idea of a new European architecture as the only security area. The Ukrainian president fears that his country will remain "suspended" between an expanded NATO alliance and a CIS military alliance led by Moscow. However, a part of the Ukrainian political scene already sees that if NATO actually expands all the way to the western border of Ukraine, the position of a "suspended one" between two blocs will be the maximum possible gain.

That is why the idea of a "healthy centrist position" is beginning to put down roots in Kiev; that is why participation in discussions on expanded NATO is beginning to appear as a demand, as is the idea of profiting from any future proximity to the alliance. In such a case, the international significance of Ukraine would increase considerably.

In the Czech Republic, we harbor some rather bad recollections pertaining to our foreign policy after World War II. The illusion of a bridge between the East and the West came to a definitive end in February 1948. But we continue not to be a "regular" Western country, one which either does not understand the East or is afraid of it. We are attempting to rid ourselves at home of the mentality related to Eastern officials, but we should not lose our capability to understand this mentality nor should we lose the curious skill required to get along with this mentality. The chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of parliament, Payne, is right when he states that our entrance into NATO and into

the European Union would "heighten the sensitivity of these institutions" vis-a-vis the eastern area.

This must be repeated both in the East and also in the West. The economic, political, or cultural benefits of such a position on our part will also not be amiss.

Kocarnik Reports on Brussels Ecofin Meeting

AU2905185595 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech
24 May 95 p 1

[Article by "juf": "The Czech Republic Has Brought 80 Percent of Norms and Legislation Into Harmony With the EU States"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Czech Republic has gone the furthest of all the states with the transitional economy in harmonizing legislation and norms with European Union conditions. Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik made this claim at a news conference on 23 May upon his return from the Ecofin [EC Council of Economic and Finance Ministers] meeting in Brussels.

Minister Kocarnik said further that the Czech Republic has harmonized 80 percent of its norms and legislation with the EU, particularly in the sphere of finance, banking, and economics. "The Czech Republic fulfilled three of the five indicators of the Maastricht Treaty. This means a low level of state debt, the budget is balanced—even with a surplus, last year—and, finally, the exchange rate of the koruna is stable, Kocarnik said. According to him, it remains to reduce inflation and adjust the development of interest rates in the Czech Republic so that they are not more than 2 percentage points higher than the average of the three best countries (i.e. a maximum of 9 percent). The minister added, however, that most of the EU countries do not satisfy the Maastricht parameters. Ecofin, the third extended meeting of EU and some central and eastern European finance ministers was dedicated to the reactions of the EU-associated countries to the so-called White Book, that defines the manner of integration of the EU-associated countries into the EU and to the participants' familiarizing themselves with the actual economic situation of the individual countries.

Economic Prospects, Roadblocks to Growth Analyzed

95CH0243A Prague RESPEKT in Czech 30 Apr 95
p 2

[Article by Jan Machacek: "Trading Eyeglasses for a Microscope—We Will Not Be Among the Tigers; What Is Standing in the Way of Economic Growth?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] To a certain extent, the Czech Republic has already completed its transition to a market

economy. The better part of the economy is in private hands and we can also brag about good macroeconomic indicators (inflation, budget surplus, a stable rate of exchange). But we need not praise our government for this—it brags about these successes itself at every opportunity. Another topic is gradually becoming the question of the day: It is the question of economic growth, its pace, and, mainly, its sustainability.

Currently, the most varied analyses indicate that we are approximately at an average of 45 percent of the economic level of neighboring Austria and 40 percent of the level of Germany. Can we hope to catch up with our neighbors at all? How long will it take—will it be a question of two or four generations?

In 1991, U.S. economists compared the economies of the former GDR and the federal republics. On the basis of complicated computations, they estimated that, if the economy of the former East Germany were to grow on an average of 2 percent per year, the new federal republics would catch up with the traditional states making up the Federal Republic of Germany in 70 years. Last year, the Czech economy "increased its output" by 2.5 percent for the first time, and this year a growth rate of around 3.5 percent is expected. What does this indicate? If our economy were to continue growing at this pace, not even today's teenagers would see a standard of living comparable with that of Austria within their lifetimes.

Occasionally, the argument is heard that the neighboring developed countries could stagnate economically over the coming decades or could grow very slowly, whereas we will be recording a dynamic growth rate and will thus be catching up with our neighbors more rapidly. This is a serious mistake, because we are dependent on the economic developments occurring in the countries of our neighbors: If they get into a recession, this will also have a negative influence upon our economy.

If our economy were to embark on the road to slow growth, this could also soon become the source of a certain amount of social tension and frustration. Whether we like it or not, our rich neighbors are "dangerously" close to us, and going to see "how the Germans are living" costs a few hundred korunas for gasoline. What, then, are our chances?

The essential prerequisite for a dynamic growth rate and its long-term sustainability are political as well as macroeconomic stability, the introduction of private ownership, the emergence of market institutions, and market legislation. To this extent, things are more or less alright in this country. We are also meeting another important condition. From the cultural and values standpoint, we are unequivocally joining those

countries whose citizens give priority to consumption—in brief, we are part of the consumer world. In principle, we also know that if we wish to prosper, we must educate ourselves, we must be industrious, etc. What is also important is the fact that, until the arrival of communism, we were historically among those countries having a high standard of living. We are, therefore, well aware as to what we wish to return to.

But, in addition to these prerequisites, there are many others which remain unfulfilled in our country for the time being. Above all, our economic potential is too tightly fettered. We are suffering from a shortage of manpower, there is no housing market which acts to restrict the so-called mobility of manpower, and last but not least, a not overly suitable ownership structure has developed in our country (the linking of bank funds with the banks). Wage regulation is continuing, as are price controls for energy, the capital market is something to which investors are not accustomed, there are virtually no bankruptcies, access to the market is frequently restricted (as a result of a complicated small business law), taxes are excessively high for the most varied reasons, and accounting regulations are also unsatisfactory. The infrastructure networks in telecommunications, services, and transportation are also obsolete.

This is not a question of "artificially" supporting demand (this can develop easily as a result of increased imports), but of creating such an environment which would make it possible for enterprises to react with more flexibility to the growing demand on the supply side. In other words: we are in need of greater investments in production capacities, competition, and functioning markets. Of course, economic growth must also somehow be financed—investment sources for this financing cannot merely be savings made by citizens. We, therefore, need direct foreign investments. And it is precisely such investments that are not reaching the Czech Republic in overabundance at present.

Of course, economic growth is not a matter for all corporations anywhere in the world: some fail, others emerge, and still others develop sharply and dynamically. And capital and investments must rapidly shift to where they show the greatest return and must abandon inefficient enterprises. And it is precisely the resources in our economy which are not deployed with the necessary degree of effectiveness—in other words, wherever they produce the greatest returns. This has to do primarily with the previously mentioned ownership structure, bankruptcies, and capital market. Large bank investment funds are the dominant owners of corporations in our country. A number of banks simply used their funds to buy enterprises which were already bank clients. If

these banks now extend credits to these enterprises and own them at the same time through their funds, they are thus preserving, to a certain extent, the status inherited from the past. Inefficient enterprises and operations are being extinguished slowly, are tying up capital required elsewhere, and that is why promising enterprises are having such difficulties obtaining credits and searching for manpower.

Among other reasons why the capital market is not developing is the fact that the banks themselves have no desire to see it develop. Of course, no sensible investor is rushing into a market in which enterprises are not publishing the necessary information about themselves. The enterprises, moreover, hesitate to issue bonds which they could sell on the capital market. A bond has a maturity of from five to seven years and is of no help to the debtor. He must pay it off. But if you borrow from the bank, you can always at least attempt to renegotiate.

That is why there has been so much debate recently regarding the need to separate the banks from the large investment funds. But the minimum number of bankruptcies and an inadequately developed capital market are not only the result of the attitude of the banks, but also result from the reluctance on the part of the government to radically revise the necessary legislation.

The influence of a sluggishly functioning judicial system on our economic situation has been underestimated to a considerable extent. Yet everyone knows that a matter which is settled in one month in some of the regions of the Republic can take years to settle in Prague, for example. It is not surprising, therefore, that if creditors know that to propose bankruptcy does not lead anywhere anyway, they will naturally not even try. This is not only a question of laws and sanctions, however, but primarily a question of their practical enforceability.

The influence of an insufficiently mobile labor force, which is closely connected with housing policy as well as with wage regulation, upon the productivity of labor and the growth of promising branches of the economy is logical. Enterprises located in Prague and in other promising regions are unable to find high-quality manpower. This situation then has yet another important impact which is not sufficiently well known: There is an entire group of firms (primarily in the construction industry) which are compelled to hire foreign workers. The overwhelming majority of these workers then send money home to their families and in no way stimulate domestic demand.

Inadequate financial and organizational changes at enterprises are closely connected even with vitally important bookkeeping functions, which, for the layman,

appear to be dry and dull. Many enterprises are showing uncollectible claims as assets. If, as is customary throughout the world, they were compelled to take them out of their balance sheets, they would suddenly be showing losses. They would then, of course, have to decrease their net worth and would have to reorganize themselves radically or fail. In short, the government will have to begin to look at the economy through a microscope or at least through stronger glasses, and devote its attention even to such subtle items as accounting practices.

At the present moment, the Klaus government is resisting "the adoption of a liberalization program." The elections are coming up, in the next 12 months nothing much more will happen, and by promoting the "necessity" to adopt a whole package of laws the government could imply that something is out of order. And not even the opposition, which is definitely not liberal in its attitudes for the present, is compelling the government to contemplate and make decisions in this direction.

Can the Czech Republic, therefore, become a central European "tiger" in the foreseeable future? Obviously not. The so-called Asian tigers are those economies which started from a far deeper bottom, from which it is possible to take off more rapidly, as is well known. Despite the fact that these are not overly democratic countries, the economic policy of their governments is unequivocally growth-oriented. That is why they have been economically on the rise for a long time already and no one is predicting that they will fail, for the time being. If Vaclav Klaus speaks of the fact that we are already a normal country, then it is also possible to understand this to mean that "our economy will grow at a normal pace, rather than at the tiger pace," and that, thanks to our dependence upon our western neighbors, we will probably not get by in the coming decades without even experiencing occasional (and also normal) downside economic cycles—in other words, recessions. But we could also be economically prospering on average somewhat more rapidly than our western neighbors. But we will only be successful in this if the next government will continue to radically liberalize the economy, eliminate regulation, and reduce the tax burden (specifically, addressing the social security system, reforming the monetary system, etc.).

But even so, it is naive to believe that we could reach the same economic level as exists in Germany earlier than in two generations. But there is, nevertheless, no reason to be pessimistic, despite the fact that to many of us this will certainly seem like a long time. After all, material well-being is fortunately not an all-encompassing aspect of the quality of life.

Need for Modernization of Army MiG's Questioned

95CH0244B Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech
26 Apr 95 p 3

[Commentary by Ivan Jemelka: "Who Will Benefit From the Modernization of the MiG-21"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ministry of Defense continues to be convinced that the best way to assure the defense capability of the country from the air is through modernized MiG-21 fighter aircraft. The plan to update these aircraft gave the shivers to members of the Defense and Security Committee of parliament toward the end of last year. The deputies had certain doubts as to whether it was essential, given the size of the Czech Republic, for our Army to be equipped with supersonic fighter aircraft. If this were nevertheless necessary, the Defense and Security Committee still vacillated as to whether the obsolete Russian-made MiG-21 was better suited for these purposes than, for example, the older American-made F-16, which some NATO countries are offering to sell. For the present, the delegates have obviously not reached any decision, although the chief of the General Staff, Jiri Nekvasil, again vehemently tried to convince them of the advantages of modernizing the MiG-21 on the occasion of his most recent appearance in parliament.

Let us admit that the updating of the Russian MiG has several advantages. In the Czech Republic, an adequate supply of spare parts exists for this type of aircraft. The Army would, thus, be capable of assuring the maintenance of these fighter aircraft through its own forces until the expiration of their life expectancy. The MiG-21's should be scheduled for being scrapped in about six to eight years. Our aircraft technicians have adequate experience involving the developmental series of the above-mentioned fighter aircraft, because some of these models were being assembled in our aircraft factories years ago. By modernizing the weapons system and the avionics, MiG-21 aircraft could match the firepower of some fighter aircraft used by the air forces of the North Atlantic Alliance. But it is not possible to update the flight characteristics of the MiG, and that is why even modernized aircraft would lag significantly behind the current world average. Aerial combat would, therefore, probably not be their strong point. They would be more likely suited to the destruction of ground targets from the air, in other words, not for use against an assault by a regular army supported by an air force, but rather for use against attacks by armed gangs. It is, of course, difficult to say whence these groups of armed gangs would come to be found in our country. This country has decent conditions for modernizing the

MiG aircraft, but the question arises as to how useful this updated aircraft would be to us.

One of the explanations could be the fact that the founder's privatization project involving the Malesice Aircraft Repair Plant is based precisely on updating the MiG-21. According to official sources, the modernization of this aircraft represents an order worth \$135 million. Some specialists, however, speak of at least twice that much. The proposal to denationalize the Malesice Aircraft Repair Plant, which came into being approximately a year ago, has been at the Ministry of Defense all this time, although the Ministry for the Administration of National Property and Its Privatization has already urgently pressed for its release several times. It is likely that the military has no intention of releasing this proposal before it has the assurance that the Defense and Security Committee agrees with modernizing the MiG-21.

The likelihood that updating an obsolete Russian fighter aircraft is not as essential to the air defense capabilities of the country as it is for the management of the Malesice Aircraft Repair Plant and for ministerial officials who can find a hinterland for their future existence in this aircraft factory cannot be ruled out.

Survey Views Popularity of Coalition Politicians

AU2905190895 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
24 May 95 p 3

[Article by "em": "Buzkova Ahead of Zeman"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The May survey conducted by the Center for Empirical Research (STEM) recorded a decline in popularity of most coalition politicians. Even Vladimir Dlouhy marked a 4-percent drop, but retained first place with 81 percent. Jiri Dienstbier continues to hold onto second place (74 percent), and Josef Zieleniec was third (71 percent). They were followed by Vaclav Klaus (57 percent). Jan Strasky and Petra Buzkova achieved the same, 56 percent. This time, Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party, ended up behind Buzkova (55 percent), and he was closely followed by Ivan Kocarnik. Richard Falber, trade union leader, who is trusted by 48 percent of respondents, was placed ninth. The first 10 was closed by Pavel Tigrid. A decline in popularity in the second half of the table was marked by Ivan Pilip and Karel Dyba, while Minister Jindrich Vodicka gained positive points.

The assessment of Vladimir Dlouhy and Jiri Dienstbier is not marked by the political affiliation of the respondents—these two politicians are acceptable to both the left wing and the right wing. On the other hand, Vaclav Klaus and Milos Zeman attract certain groups of

supporters. The assessment of Democratic Union Chairman Alena Hromadkova is rather unusual in this respect,

as she belongs to the extreme right wing, but has support, above all, among left-wing inclined citizens.

Comment: U.S. Attitude Toward NATO Admission

AU2605140995 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
24 May 95 p 3

[Commentary by Leopold Moravcik: "Our NATO Prospects"]

[FBIS Translated Text] My recent stay in Washington, which focused on the study of NATO issues, produced two messages for supporters of the rapid integration of the Slovak Republic [SR] into this alliance. The first message is bad, the other even worse.

The first, bad, message is implied in the fact that NATO membership does not merely mean Slovakia's being the recipient of NATO's defense umbrella, but also requires of us certain responsibilities. As Walter Slocombe, U.S. assistant secretary of defense, told a group of European journalists, in reply to a question regarding the possible deployment of nuclear weapons on the territories of the new member states, these countries will be members like all the others. "There will not be any second-class members of the alliance," Walter Slocombe stressed.

This means that, should the situation require it, foreign soldiers, including their nuclear weapons, will be stationed in Slovakia, and our soldiers will have to fight elsewhere.

The second, even worse, message for supporters of Slovakia's rapid integration into NATO is: It will not happen very soon, and we will not be among the first. True, senators and diplomats kept stressing in debates that nothing has been decided and that all applications would be considered according to the same criteria. However, in such debates, politicians always have the tendency to say what their (in this case Central European) listener wants to hear. Far more useful, therefore, were the debates with those who prepare the senators' and diplomats' background material for their political decisions. These debates made it clear that precisely the magic formula "same criteria" could become the stumbling block for Slovakia. The reason is mounting skepticism about whether Slovakia is truly following the path of democracy.

A certain unnamed high-level adviser close to Congress said in a debate that "apparently, Slovakia is not ready for NATO membership in 1998 for reasons of progress toward democracy."

Another piece of evidence is far more specific and exists in written form. In its March 1995 analysis on the expansion of NATO, the U.S. Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) writes about Slovakia, among other things: "The question is whether these initial reforms will continue also in 1995 under the Meciar coalition government that emerged from the October

1994 elections. The first indications (Meciar's campaign to unseat President Kovac) signal renewed political instability and potential constitutional problems."

The analysis states, furthermore, that Slovakia must strengthen its Constitution, which places emphasis on national rather than civil rights. At the very end, the authors once again return to doubts about developments in Slovakia: "The real question is whether Meciar's coalition government will continue defense reforms instituted during Moravcik's coalition government. The initial signs are not encouraging, especially if Meciar continues his efforts to eliminate the president." It needs to be added that the above analysis was drafted before the start of the present stage of the campaign against Michal Kovac.

Naturally, NATO membership is no panacea, and there are a number of countries in Europe that are not NATO members but became EU members without difficulty. The problem is, however, that all of the governments of the former socialist Central European countries consider membership in the pact to be a matter of national prestige. The present Slovak Government policy is generally perceived in the world as an attack on democracy and an effort to concentrate power in the hands of an individual. Should, for this reason, Slovakia drop out of the first group of candidates for NATO membership (made up of the Visegrad Four countries and Slovenia), this will undoubtedly do no credit to the present government and will be a bad signal for the world. We will then be able to ask whether it was correct to give preference to personal interests, in the form of solving personal disputes, over the interests of Slovakia.

Duray Apologizes for Comments About Horn

AU2905085095 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
24 May 95 p 2

[TASR report: "Coexistence: Inappropriate Reaction"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Coexistence Movement has received the authentic text of Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn's recent interview for the Hungarian DUNA television station, in which he spoke, among other issues, about the treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic. In conjunction with this, Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray said yesterday that disinformation had occurred in the Slovak media in this context, which also greatly influenced the Coexistence's reaction. As Duray specified, Prime Minister Gyula Horn was speaking in a different context than interpreted by the Slovak mass media. "This is why our reactions were unwarranted and inappropriate," Miklos Duray explained.

Meciar on Privatization, Election Rigging

LD2605173095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 May 1995

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Magda Pospisilova; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Pospisilova] The Constitutional Court decided on Wednesday that one of the first laws by which the coalition majority in the National Council abolished or suspended some decisions on privatization, approved by the government of Jozef Moravcik, was not in accordance with the Constitution. The reasons of the Constitutional Court can be summed up in three points: disturbance in the division of power, withdrawal of property, and retroactivity of the law. The Constitutional Court's decision is final. How will privatization continue further, and who will bear the economic consequences of parliament's anticonstitutional decision?

[Meciar] This is not the first decision wherein the Constitutional Court abolished or changed the policies of the National Council. You may remember, the first was in 1993, when I returned a law to the National Council; an important law was not discussed for several months because of opposition by deputies of the Christian Democratic Movement, the Party of the Democratic Left, and others. The fact that it was abolished was not communicated to me, and there is no reason that it should be. It involves a relationship between the National Council and the Constitutional Court. But it involves no material damage to anyone because the argument concerned the validity of the resolution of the government, and the government abolished all these resolutions a long time before the verdict of the Constitutional Court was reached. So, in fact, material and legal effects were not involved at all.

What was involved was whether the ruling to the interpretation of the Constitutional Court was in accordance with some other ruling. This legal question has been solved, there is no impact on privatization as a result of this decision, all of the resolutions the government itself abolished, adopted by the government, have been negated, in accordance with the law, and work is proceeding according to new rules.

[Pospisilova] How will privatization progress further?

[Meciar] Privatization has various forms. Its preparatory stage is over. It is now clear what property will be privatized, and conclusions about how privatization will be conducted have been made so that it will start being fully implemented in June. We expect that this preparatory stage will bring returns in intensification of

progress in the next few weeks, and we expect that some misunderstandings arising among some people, on the form of privatization—whether to put more property for sale to employees or to put more property to coupon privatization—will be explained sensibly soon, without emotion and politicizing, and that it will be made in harmony with the interests of the people and the interests of the state.

[Pospisilova] The prosecutor general rejects the political background of the petition lists of the Democratic Union of Slovakia [DU]. One question springs to mind in this context. What, at the end of the day, is the purpose of this whole investigation? Many legal experts have said that scrutinizing the genuineness of the signatures has no legal effect and is therefore legally irrelevant.

[Meciar] Why is it irrelevant? We are all equal before the law. Justice is blind to be fair irrespectively of what somebody looks like but with respect to what the truth is.

Before the 1992 elections, one or two people were sentenced for forging election documents. The election commission of the Slovak National Council said that the DU petition lists were incomplete and that there were grounds for assuming that the election documents had been forged. So, whenever there is a suspicion that criminal activity is taking place, the bodies involved in criminal investigation have to act and scrutinize the genuineness of the signatures and clarify two things—whether the person signed is identical with the person listed in the petition lists. For instance, in Humenne district [east Slovakia], forgery has been proved. Somebody used lists of workers who have never heard of the Democratic Union of Slovakia, and their names have been misused. There are cases of two-year-old children, who are clearly illiterate, being registered.

There are grounds for suspicion that some of the DU members—I have no right to give their names because that is a matter for the court and the judge—are liable for forging these official documents. This constitutes a criminal offense. Therefore, the bodies involved in the criminal investigation do their duty. However, if it involves the Democratic Union of Slovakia, they say it is a political rather than a criminal matter. Whoever has forged documents is a criminal and his act is a criminal act. Therefore all bodies involved in criminal investigation are obliged by law to act.

Citizens have nothing to worry about. Those who signed acted according to their consciences. Those who have not signed will say that it is not their signature, and the bodies involved in criminal investigation will find out who forged their signatures. They will not harass

the person who has not signed; they will look for the person who has forged the signature.

I have seen several petition lists. The very same handwriting, the very same pen appears on several pages. It may be a coincidence but it may cause suspicion. In any case, investigations carried out in the Humenne district have confirmed that forgery took place, and forgers are now being looked for in other districts, too.

There is no point in making it a political issue. We have to say that justice for everybody is being sought. I do not understand why DU is so nervous about it. The DU members filed several complaints against me after the elections. It does not make me nervous at all. I do not get hysterical about it and shout that it is a political error. People always have informed on me; I have always been harassed. When one has nothing to hide, when one is honest, then one is happy to face the challenge. If DU says it keeps copies of all petition lists, it is not a problem to go to court and prove that the bodies involved in the criminal investigation need not act. If it does not have these copies, it should not get hysterical, it should be ashamed. [passage omitted]

[Pospisilova] In this context, it has been suggested that your coalition partner, the Association of Workers in Slovakia [ZRS], is in a situation similar to DU's. Have you not considered that the situation could be described by the proverb: All they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword?

[Meciar] I have heard the following paraphrase: Who fights Meciar, dies with Meciar. However, this kind of argument has a weak point, which rests in saying—it has been suggested. There is not a single proof; no accusation has been made against the ZRS in this regard. Let me therefore ignore the whole matter.

Meciar Discusses Privatization Issues

LD2905171395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Everything that happens in the country relates to the division of property. All political cases and pretended political cases serve to divert attention from this major transaction of the century. This is claimed by those who observe and comment on our political scene. It is true that the second wave of coupon privatization has become a political issue.

Magda Pospisilova has interviewed Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar about one particular issue that could bring some clarification in the matter.

[begin recording] [Pospisilova] TASR has published a preliminary list of companies earmarked for the second wave of privatization, which also states the value of shares earmarked for the coupon privatization. The district power companies, Slovak Gas Industry, and others are also listed. This contradicts the government's resolution of April 1995 and your personal proclamation that the power and gas industry, as a strategic sector, will not be privatized. Has the government changed its stance or is the published list inaccurate?

[Meciar] There are several similar lists that have been presented to meetings of economy ministers. There is also a list which has been presented to the government. This list has been approved by the government and that is why the work on this list goes on [as heard].

The essential problem in meeting demands concerning the volume of property to be privatized is the fact that, in order to achieve the expected volume, we have to go for the highest possible quality. That means, the power industry, gas, electricity, and so on would have to be included.

The government has amended the list and has decided to exclude these power companies from privatization.

Let us be clear about what is achieved in privatization. The coupon privatization is aimed at giving some compensation to citizens. However, at the same time, the privatization funds become administrators of this property. And this is not the best and most reliable administration. It provides one of the most effective ways for cheap and easy transfers of property abroad. As a result, he who privatizes through coupons will not profit from privatization. [passage omitted]

At present, there is no efficient legislation that would protect citizens, the owners of the property. [passage omitted]

Moreover, there is an important state economic interest, namely the fact that the power companies are one of the main sources of revenue to the state budget. If we were to privatize the transfer gas pipeline transporting gas from Russia to Germany in coupon privatization, it would be divided among many owners and we would lose our property and a source of revenue. [passage omitted]

We subsidize the retail price of energy from the profits from gas transit. If we lose profits from transit, how are we going to subsidize small consumers? The power industry needs large investments for the completion of water, nuclear, or solid fuel power plants, and is rather heavily indebted. The 1994 arrears amount to 3 billion korunas, while investment debts are not included in this figure. If we were to put all this into privatization

now, we would have to change prices and increase energy price in general. Hence, the apparent advantage of a major redistribution of property would immediately result in worse competitive conditions on the market, as the costs would be projected in the prices of goods, the prices of goods would be projected in labor cost, and people would need more purchasing money. A person would get, let us say, several thousand korunas from coupon privatization but, at the same time, he or she would have to pay much more for labor [as heard]. The lower competitiveness of products would then affect employment figures. This is not a good game. I know that many political organizations speculate on this. [passage omitted]

Last but not least, in accordance with our manifesto, we have other priorities than the others. We are not interested in selling our property abroad cheaply. We want to create domestic Slovak businessmen and property owners. I emphasize, domestic.

Therefore, the property should be redistributed in this country. Of course, foreign capital will come here but in different ways, not through sales of property for korunas.

This is the essence of the controversy today.

First, we must create our own group of property owners.

Second, we must prevent the power industry from being touched because it is a strategic property of the Slovak Republic. It belongs to all, and not to a handful of funds which could do with it what they wish.

Third, we have to find fair methods so that the relationship between an employee and the company he or she works for becomes stronger. This would result in stronger social security.

Fourth, we will compensate people by giving them the amount of property we can. This represents today a value, without power industry, to the tune of 40 billion korunas.

These are the steps we intend to take. We are discussing them and they also are the topic of a dispute. Some people turn these matters into political issues, envisaging a referendum in the hope that it would reverse everything. [passage omitted]

[Pospisilova] Is my understanding correct in thinking that the published list is incorrect or inaccurate?

[Meciar] In this respect, the list is not accurate. [passage omitted]

[Pospisilova] When will you publish the list?

[Meciar] The matter was handed over to the Ministry of Privatization for further processing. It is up to the

ministry to take any further steps within its powers at any time. [end recording]

Carnogursky, Moravcik Address Pro-Kovac Rally
AU2705135695 Bratislava SME in Slovak 25 May 95
p 2

[Article by "(eb)": "Thousands of People at a Rally in Presov Too"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Presov—"Prior to the rallies in Bratislava and Kosice, there could still have been doubts about who had more support, but, after Presov, it is absolutely clear," said Christian Democratic Movement Chairman Jan Carnogursky yesterday at a rally in support of democracy and the president. He added that "Darmo's television and SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA can be as misleading as they want, but Slovak citizens know how to stand up for justice and the president." In presiding over the rally, Knazko estimated the number of participants at 7,000 to 10,000 and added that "hundreds of thousands could have come" at which the people in Presov started to jingle their keys above their heads. Jozef Moravcik also addressed the citizens of Saris [the region in which Presov is located] (mayors from the Bardejov District, for example, had announced their presence). He said: "We are categorically opposed to our police officers—who are paid from the taxes of all of us—being misused for the political aims and interests of just one party and a narrow group of people. We want a police force that does not harass citizens because of their political views, expressed in petitions, for example. We want a police force that will protect us from criminals and mafias." [passage omitted]

Peter Zajac (Permanent Conference of the Civic Institute) roused the participants when he said that, not only the opposition political parties and all of the churches in Slovakia are on the president's side, but almost all of the universities, civic initiatives, and his fellow countrymen are on his side too. They reacted to these and other statements by manifesting their support for the president and by shouting "enough of Meciar."

Police Continue To Verify DU Petition Sheets
AU2905185495 Bratislava SME in Slovak 25 May 95
pp 1-2

[Article by "(bog, eta, ll, and jo)": "Verification of the Signatures on the DU Petition Sheets Is Continuing Throughout Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava/Ziar nad Hronom—The verification of citizens' signatures on the Democratic Union [DU] petition sheets is continuing throughout Slovakia. District investigation

offices already have the sheets at their disposal and are sorting through them to ascertain how many citizens in their district will be asked to state if they really signed the petition. According to the minutes from the Regional Electoral Commission's (KVK) meeting, the DU submitted sheets with a total of 14,929 signatures. After checking them over, the KVK struck off 2,428 of them. [passage omitted]

According to our information, each of the 40 districts in Slovakia will receive a package containing sheets with more than 14,000 signatures. This means that they will also receive the petition sheets removed by the KVK and, for example, that investigators in Zilina will also have details on citizens from Komarno.

Captain Pepi from the Police Corps Office of Investigations in Ziar nad Hronom told SME yesterday that they have not yet started to check the signatures. He said that they are still awaiting instructions from the Slovak Police Corps. They have the sheets at their disposal, however, and have also determined which ones they will look into if a check is made.

M. Kocnar, the former chairman of the parliamentary Mandate and Immunity Committee, issued a protest yesterday against the verification of the DU's petition sheets. "I can confirm that the petition sheets have already been opened by the governing movement and even the originals have no evidentiary relevance. The sheets could have been manipulated in all sorts of ways; whole pages could have been removed or completely different ones could have been inserted," he declared, and emphasized that some politicians have, evidently, prepared many more affairs and scandals. [passage omitted]

DU Head Opposes Verification

LD2605140895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 26 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Jozef Moravcik, chairman of the Democratic Union [DU] of Slovakia, has written an open letter to citizens in connection with verifying the correctness of signatures on petition lists of the DU by the bodies active in the penal proceedings.

In his view, this action misuses the police for the benefit of the political aims of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. Moravcik notes that the action is aimed against the decision of the Constitutional Court, but it cannot threaten the presence of DU deputies in the National Council.

Police Deny Verification Political

AU2905085295 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak
24 May 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Noro Lazar: "Petition Sheet Mania Continues...."]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In connection with the police verifying the correctness of Democratic Union [DU] petition sheets directly in the signatories' apartments, DU Chairman Jozef Moravcik visited Vladimir Lamacka, director of the Slovak Interior Ministry Police Corps' Section for Investigations and Criminal Expert Analysis, at around noon yesterday. [passage omitted]

After the meeting, we contacted Peter Ondera, the Slovak Interior Ministry press spokesman, who provided us, and the TASR, with the following information: "Vladimir Lamacka explained that the police bodies are verifying the authenticity of signatures on the basis of a criminal complaint lodged with the General Prosecutor's Office of the Slovak Republic by citizen Engineer K. P.. The verification is taking place in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Criminal Code. Jozef Moravcik drew attention to the negative political impact of the verification, but the section director rejected any political motives for the police bodies' action. He said that, under the law, the police bodies are required to verify the facts of the case at the request of the General Prosecutor's Office. According to his words, in verifying the signatures, members of the Slovak Republic Police Corps must strictly abide by the appropriate provisions of the Criminal Code and the Law on the Police Corps."

After the meeting at the Slovak Interior Ministry, DU Chairman Jozef Moravcik told reporters: "First it is necessary to ascertain whether the documents being verified are trustworthy, and only then can any further action be taken. The DU petition sheets, on the basis of which the criminal prosecution bodies are now checking authenticity of the signatures, are of no relevance from the legal point of view." Moravcik's claim about the untrustworthiness of the sheets follows "from the monochromatic composition of the temporary commission of the parliamentary Mandates and Immunity Committee that is looking into the validity of the election of DU deputies, which unsealed the petition sheets without a notary public being present." Jozef Moravcik said that he would ask the prosecutor general of the Slovak Republic to halt or suspend the matter. He said, furthermore, that criminal prosecution can be initiated only against a specific person, whereas the aim of the current verification is to ascertain whether anyone is being suspected in the first place.

SDSS Wants Slovak TV Head To Resign

*LD2705202395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 27 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Social Democratic Party of Slovakia [SDSS] is appalled by current changes in the news and current affairs programs of Slovak Television, a public institution, turning them into means of party propaganda for the government coalition, says the statement of the SDSS Central Committee, adopted by the party leadership in Trencianske Teplice today.

The statement also says that the Slovak TV news and current affairs programs, as well as its program structure, are not objective; they merely serve the

unilateral promotion of the government, deliberately misinterpret the activities of the opposition, or remain silent about them.

The SDSS considers the way in which Slovak TV Director Jozef Darmo entered confrontation with President Michal Kovac as scandalous. Therefore, the SDSS leadership considers Jozef Darmo's dismissal as inevitable.

The SDSS leadership also discussed privatization issues today. The leadership welcomed the recent ruling of the Constitutional Court on the matter. At the same time, the party leadership obliged its district organizations to support more clearly the petition for a fair second wave of coupon privatization. [passage omitted]

Heads of State Hold News Conference

LD2605182095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 26 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The heads of eight Central European states are enjoying the fine weather at Lake Balaton. Gabor Nemes reports on a news conference currently being held at the Keszthely meeting.

[Nemes] It is possible that the Central European heads of state will issue a joint statement on the Bosnian events, in which they will express support for European values and interethnic coexistence, Czech President Vaclav Havel announced at a news conference after today's talks.

Almost everyone emphasized these European values; some of them, such as Italian President Scalfaro, stressed the cultural aspect, while others, such as Slovenian President Milan Kucan, focused on political rights and traditions. Kucan indicated that the countries wishing to join the EU expect a speedy answer from the EU regarding the conditions and date of a possible European integration.

In reply German President Roman Herzog said this should take place as soon as possible, for it is in the West's interest, too. However, overemphasizing sovereignty may be harmful, he said.

Slovak President Michal Kovac noted that the Western states should not be afraid of us. If new members are joining, they will not destabilize the EU. Anyway, as regards the Slovaks, they have no hostile feelings toward anyone, thus they have no hostile feelings toward any of their neighbors.

Prime Minister Horn on Joining NATO, EU

LD2905115295 Budapest MTV Television Network
in Hungarian 0829 GMT 29 May 95

[Prime Minister Gyula Horn's response to questions from delegates at the Budapest NATO Assembly session—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Regarding the question of a referendum, it is contained in the Hungarian government program that when the discussions about membership are concluded, then Hungary will wish to hold a referendum to confirm our joining NATO. That is the government program. I believe this does not go against the practice of NATO members around the time of joining.

I would like to stress that not only in Hungary, but elsewhere too, a part of the public is attracted to the idea that since we once freed ourselves from an earlier alliance system, the Warsaw Treaty—thank God, we

have freed ourselves—then why should we now join another military alliance? As to why, and as to the essence of NATO's operation, that is what I wished to speak about earlier as well; and what I said there was dictated by experience and conviction.

In connection with all this, I would like to stress that the Hungarian Government, and presumably the Hungarian parliament, too, at least in a decisive majority, believe in our joining NATO; and in this spirit, we will work hard so that the referendum will be successful and will confirm our intention to join NATO. I would like to add that I trust to the maximum in the success of the referendum being attained.

With regard to the human rights criterion of our admission, I consider it natural that we must satisfy this criterion. We must satisfy it—that is to say, the assertion of human rights—all the more so as human rights are very often and in a serious degree violated in this region; and I would like to stress that this applies not only to the present but also to the past. Hungary today is taking serious measures to regard as a commitment, to accept as a commitment, the international and European norms relating to the assertion of human rights.

The third point is the issue of joining the EU. Yes, there are big debates in the EU member states and their organizations about what the EU should be like or how they should fulfill the Maastricht resolutions. There is also a debate about what the decisionmaking mechanism should be like in the coming years. My view is that the EU expresses the process of integration in Europe, but even more widely throughout the world, an integration process that is irreversible. After all, this is the main (?thread) of the world's development.

And as for what the national and supranational decision-making mechanism should be like within this, I am of the view that the wisdom of the member states, of the participants, will in the end be to reach agreement; and this will help to see that in the case of those decisions, which can only be taken at a joint level, the supranational character should indeed be asserted without loss of national identity by any of the member states who participate in the organization, in the union, as well as by any of their nations.

But I would like to add that there is another dilemma as well, and we regard this as a key issue from the viewpoint of our future membership: namely, how agricultural policy will develop within the EU; and this is a very concrete matter, it affects our pockets, and it concerns very hard financial and other interests. It is no coincidence that we are dealing intensively with this issue, since Hungary's agricultural sector, agricultural

sphere, will also have to be adequately transformed in accordance with the demands of the EU.

Yes, Mr. Prime Minister—because at that time you were Romania's prime minister—Mr. Petre Roman, in September 1989, I visited Bucharest. I too have good memories of that time, especially when I think that at that time, we signed a memorandum consisting of 27 points whose essence was that we would place Hungarian-Romanian relations onto a new bases, that there were for us no longer any taboos, only cooperation over the situation of minorities, in the two countries' relations. I regret that very little of this memorandum has been realized.

At the same time, I would say that even so, our relations by now have not only a future but also a present, because precisely in the recent past, we agreed with the Romanian leadership that we would closely consult and cooperate on the majority of political issues, including the issue of our relations and our joining the Euro-Atlantic integration organizations, and including also the fact that in the most important foreign political issues, we would coordinate.

I have to say that there is no question of any kind of a confrontational situation developing in Hungarian-Romanian relations. On the contrary, we are making progress, and we have progressed, even if not as spectacularly as in other areas, in our economic relations and cooperation, and in the cultural field, although we are well aware that virtually never does either side fully comply with the decisions. But the direction and the intention are the decisive things. And the Hungarian Republic's policy regarding Romania accords with the government's proclaimed endeavor: historical appeasement. So it is in this spirit that we wish to develop our long-term Hungarian-Romanian relations.

[FBIS Translated Text] Finally, with regard to the Russian situation or the (?whims) of Russian democracy: Yes, there are some Russian opinions—at least in political circles—that say that the cause of integration will be exploited by the extremist nationalist elements in the December election campaign. In this connection, one has to say that everything must be done, by yourselves and by us who live here in this region, so that we should be able to explain to the Russian public, make it understand, that NATO's expansion does not threaten Russia; that on the contrary, it also serves the interests of their security.

The other thing that has to be taken into account is that in Russia, among the Russian public, an identity crisis has evolved on the basis of the developments of the past years. For this very reason we consider it extremely important, at least in the international

arena, that with every possible means, Russian foreign policy, the Russian leadership, must be involved in the international efforts we are making and which we want to make in the coming years, so that from the Russian side there should not even arise the possibility or the danger of isolation. I do not think there can be anyone in this hall among the participants in the general assembly who might be thinking along the lines that Russia has to be isolated. There is no such thinking. But at the same time, there is a need to strengthen those reform forces in Russia who really want Russia's transformation and who want this great state to join the community of democratic states.

With regard to the special situation that exists between NATO and Russia, first: At the moment, we are waiting, people are waiting, we are all waiting for the Russian side to take a stand in connection with the Partnership for Peace. I do not know whether or not this has taken place in these hours or days; but in all events, this is necessary on the part of the Russian leadership so that the next step can be taken. That is one thing.

The other thing: I and all of us here welcome what has been said and done by American foreign policy—by President Clinton in person as well, in the course of his recent Moscow discussions of 9 May, in other words, when he upheld the possibility, he assured the Russian leadership, that Russia might also develop a special relationship, or rather, that if it creates this relationship, then it could join the North Atlantic alliance. This prospect must be, can be, formulated in concrete terms as well, and it must be realized. Thank you very much.

Horn on NATO Membership, Balkan Crisis

LD2905141295 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1126 GMT 29 May 95

[Studio interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn following NATO Assembly session in Budapest by unidentified correspondent—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] Prime Minister Gyula Horn is our guest in the parliament studio. [passage omitted]

What kind of advantages can an average citizen expect from our future NATO membership.

[Horn] It is primarily their security. We only have to look at what is happening along our southern borders. I mean primarily the Balkan, or the Yugoslav situation, where the international community is unable, through no fault of its own, to curb military actions, passions, and national selfishness. There are a number of adventurist leaders there for whom nothing is too expensive, who are not even afraid of provoking another war. Well,

these are immediate dangers for Hungary, because this is taking place in our neighborhood, and we have already suffered a lot of losses as a result of these wars, the so-to-speak little wars.

Another point is that NATO—and particularly the North Atlantic Assembly and its committees—seriously ask their members to take an account of how they comply to obligations undertaken in connection with human rights. Our admission is very important from the aspect of our domestic situation as well. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Are you aware of any plans by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe to take some kind of steps to ease the recently developed Bosnian crisis?

[Horn] Steps have to be taken at any costs. We have been planning it. We have proposed to Belgrade that we are ready to hold talks with Belgrade, or the government of the rump Yugoslavia—since Serbia's relations with the Bosnian Serbs and the extent Serbia takes seriously its internationally recognized obligation not to support the Bosnian Serbs are crucial. We have proposed to suspend the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia on the basis of this obligation. If Yugoslavia takes it seriously and observes it, it might have an enormous role in the cessation of the Bosnian war. There are plenty of questions to discuss with Belgrade.

[Correspondent] Does, in your view, any direct or indirect danger—a military danger—threaten Hungary at the moment?

[Horn] Look, certainly there is an indirect danger, because of this [Yugoslav conflict], on the one hand, the entire southern region has become destabilized. On the other hand, it has serious material and other consequences. Also, on what we have really focused recently—particularly after 1 May—is that a Serb-Croat confrontation or war should not break out. This has to be prevented by all possible means, because on the one hand if this conflict develops it will have extremely serious direct effects, primarily on the Hungarian community living in neighboring countries, in Vojvodina and elsewhere, and on the other hand, directly on Hungary's situation. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Thank you very much for the interview.

Last Hungarian Scud-B Missile Destroyed

*LD2905194895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 29 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The last Scud-B long-range strategic missile has been exploded in Taborfalva. Thus, Hungary has fulfilled its international obligations. It is believed that at no time since the deployment of

missiles in Hungary have there been nuclear warheads in the country, although the Scuds are capable of delivering nuclear warheads. [passage omitted] Tamas Luigits reports from Taborfalva.

[Luigits] Hungary has decided to destroy these missiles because the long-range missiles are clearly offensive weapons. The explosion has just taken place, you can hear it over your radio. [passage omitted]

From now on, the so-called heavy rocket-launchers will remain the most effective antimissile weapons in the Hungarian arsenal. Since their range is 30 km, they are defensive weapons.

Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti, who attended the ceremonial destruction, told the NATO Assembly delegates present that weapons of a similar type were still deployed in the regional countries even after the breakup of the Warsaw Treaty. What is more, these weapons were operational. However, he expressed the hope that history will prove this act of ours as an act to follow and not as an act of reckless haste.

Foreign Minister on Slovakia, HDUR, Bosnia

*LD2905225595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 29 May 95*

[Studio interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by an unidentified correspondent; from the "Extra" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] Last weekend the news spread that the positions of the Romanian and Hungarian negotiation sides were successfully moving closer to each other and this, naturally, will improve the prospects of signing the Hungarian-Romanian Treaty. Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs is here in the studio.

Do you think that the territorial autonomy that no longer refers to its being formed along ethnic lines will be more acceptable in the Romanian circles of power and the Romanian Government?

[Kovacs] [Passage omitted] I feel that this congress did not broaden the conflicts within the HDUR [Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania] but, it is hoped, has closed a period during which differences of certain views grew rather sharp. I am very glad that the HDUR has now passed this phase, because a united HDUR has a much better chance in exerting the interests of the Hungarians in Romania, as well as protecting and guaranteeing their rights. [passage omitted]

Regarding the issue of territorial autonomy, there is a European precedent for it, including the provisos to which HDUR Chairman Bela Marko also referred; a

kind of autonomy which, with these provisos, does not damage Romania's territorial integrity and sovereignty. I think that this kind of autonomy demand—in this formulation—cannot be seen as incompatible with the Romanian Constitution. So, I believe that this formulation will be acceptable for the Romanian Government and the Romanian parliament. [passage omitted]

I can only welcome the fact that a political realist has been reelected chairman, in the person of Bela Marko. What I mean is that Bela Marko has always taken into account the real possibilities, the kind of demands that are not only just, but can attract some international support. [passage omitted]

I also consider very important Bela Marko's main characteristic, his unwillingness to conduct an all-or-nothing policy. It is important. He, who in foreign policy, or for that matter domestic politics, can think only in terms of winning everything or letting all hell loose will simply achieve nothing—so, this is not rational political behavior. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] We have, so to speak, settled our relations with Slovakia, however, we have been receiving different signals about this lately. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] Yes, even in parliament, opposition deputies contrast the two facts by saying that now that they have signed the Basic Treaty, anti-Hungarian steps are being taken and certain laws are under preparation that are contrary to the spirit of the Basic Treaty.

[Correspondent] So, should we ratify this treaty after all, or rather should we be the first to ratify it?

[Kovacs] Well, I think it is easy to see that this kind of reasoning is false. First of all, it is impossible to call a treaty to account which, although signed, has not been ratified by either parliament. Nobody can believe it seriously that one day two prime ministers sign a document and the next day we will see its result. [passage omitted]

The point is that with this Basic Treaty we are able to prevent or halt certain unfavorable tendencies. The reason why we have to be first to ratify this treaty are twofold. First, we consider that this is a good bilateral treaty and we have no reason to delay it. Second, if the Hungarian Parliament ratifies the Basic Treaty, a certain amount of pressure can be put on the Slovak parliament too in the interest of ratification. If, *ad absurdum*, although I do not believe this, the Slovak parliament rejects the treaty, Hungary will have done her due, what was expected of her, and the rest is not up to us.

[Correspondent] The West European countries, but even more so the United States, consider the conclusion of bilateral treaties as a condition to our NATO accession. Many people do not understand why the West insists on this. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] The West is afraid that by expanding NATO and the Western European Union [WEU], and allowing Central European countries into their ranks, if these countries are unable to settle their differences, it will import these problems into NATO and the WEU. This is the last thing they want, to weaken the operation of, let us say NATO. At this point the Turkey-Greece feud is often mentioned. [passage omitted]

Of course, the question is a lot more complex than this, we know this. However, we have to understand that looking at it from the United States, from Washington, it is easier to insist on the Basic Treaty. I would not be in favor of the Basic Treaty if I could not see that the treaty indeed creates a better situation for Hungary and the 10.5 million Hungarians, the 2 million Hungarians in Romania, and the 600,000 Hungarians in Slovakia alike. It does create a better situation for all of us. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Why do we want to join NATO? For it is often said that this will cost us, although it is seldom said that staying outside will probably cost more. Has an inventory of this nature been made?

[Kovacs] Yes. It is often said that we should remain neutral. Well, apart from the fact that neutrality has lost its original meaning, apart from the fact that there is no way of obtaining any kind of guarantee from the superpowers for this, neutrality is more expensive than membership in a military system. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Let us talk about the Bosnian situation. What do you think about it?

[Kovacs] I think it is worrying and tragic, for the situation that has evolved is like a hijack on a large scale. Thus by taking UN peacekeepers hostages, they confront the entire international community. I consider this a catastrophic situation—alas, the international community is also to be blamed for the deterioration of events. Greater determination should have been demonstrated earlier, and I think the Bosnian Serbs would have thought twice before resorting to this. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What can be done?

[Kovacs] First, this problem has to be solved. I think that unfortunately there is no other solution but to show strength, determination, resolution, and toughness. Just as it is not expedient to show leniency with hijackers.

This is the first thing. But afterward, a settlement has to be found, however, in a lot more active and resolute manner. Efforts have to be made in the interest of settling the entire Yugoslav crisis.

[Correspondent] Would it not be more effective and cheaper for the international community to agree to the lifting of the Bosnian arms embargo?

[Kovacs] No, I think that would be a cynical solution. The really cheap solution, in inverted commas, from the point of view of costs, the number of victims and human lives, would be the creation of a European structure, one of the main pillars of which would be an eastward expanding NATO; this NATO would be able to create stability in this region. This would be the really cost effective, safe, and long-term solution, and this is what we are trying to make the NATO countries understand.

[Correspondent] However, when the ceiling has caved in, it is not timely to talk about building a new house.

[Kovacs] This is true. First, this crisis has to be solved. What I am talking about is a long-term solution.

[Correspondent] In your capacity as the president of the OSCE [Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe], do you trust that this situation can be settled within days?

[Kovacs] The hostage crisis has to be settled within days. There is no time to spare. I do not think that the Yugoslav crisis, and the Bosnian crisis within that, will be solved within days, but I think that the present situation, perhaps, was good for one thing: It gave a tough lesson to the international community where indecision and lack of resolve leads.

Izetbegovic Presides Over 'War Council'

AU2905134095 Paris AFP in English
1321 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, May 29 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic early Monday presided over a war council meeting at a military base in central Bosnia, the official Bosnian press agency BH Press said.

Bosnian Army chief General Rasim Delic, Chief of Staff Enver Hadzihasanovic, Interior Minister Bakir Alispahic and the chiefs of all six of the seven Bosnian army corps also attended the meeting, the agency said.

Bosnian presidency staff had earlier Monday dismissed as ridiculous a report from Belgrade, citing Bosnian Croat radio, claiming that Izetbegovic had been killed.

The presidency said that Izetbegovic was expected to make a public statement later Monday.

The Bosnian foreign minister, Irfan Ljubijankic, was killed early Sunday when his helicopter was shot down in an area of Croatia held by separatist Serbs.

Report Suggests Izetbegovic Had 'Heart Attack'

AU2605174195 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA
in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 95 p 8

[Article by Robert Jurkic: "Tracing Alija's Departure"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The reason that the Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, gave for his absence from the London, Paris, and Moscow ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of victory over fascism, was that he was busy. On 3 May the Office of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency announced that "owing to the deteriorating situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and its immediate neighborhood, President Izetbegovic will not be attending the marking of the anniversary of the victory over fascism in London, Paris, or Moscow." [passage omitted]

It is precisely because of this that the story that spread through Sarajevo at about the same time as this announcement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Office sounds quite convincing. Namely, it claimed that Alija Izetbegovic had just suffered a heart attack and that this was the real reason he did not attend these ceremonies. There has been no official announcement on Izetbegovic's health as yet, not even in the form of a denial of the rumors, but this naturally does not rule out the possibility that his health is not at its best, particularly if the "reliable information" is connected with some other events on the Sarajevo political scene.

Indeed, at the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] press conference in Sarajevo on Thursday it was announced

that the party had decided to launch an initiative for a change in the Constitution of the the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the next Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly session. The intended change concerns the regulations related to the election of the president of the Presidency of the Republic. More specifically, the SDA is proposing that if the current president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency dies, his successor should be appointed by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, as the supreme legislative body, in a way that they first elect a new Presidency member—who need not be one of the people who ran for the position at the 1990 elections—and then elect the new president of the Presidency from among the members. Naturally, certain circles in Sarajevo have interpreted this initiative as a firm confirmation of the "reliable information" on Alija Izetbegovic's poor health.

SDA's Right of Succession

Izetbegovic recently appeared on television, making statements on the situation in and around Bosnia-Herzegovina, and has, therefore, been politically active. However, this is no firm basis for making judgments on his health. Whatever his condition may be, it is interesting that the party that he heads has decided to raise the issue of his successor before he has died, which shows their lack of trust in the present Presidency members. [passage omitted]

Silajdzic Demands End to Containment Policy

AU2905125395 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network
in German 1100 GMT 29 May 95

[Report by Wolfgang Labuhn on interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo "one hour ago"—recorded; Silajdzic statements in English with superimposed German translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Labuhn] Whereas intensive diplomatic efforts for a solution to the most recent Bosnian crisis are under way, Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic is skeptical about these efforts. One hour ago, he stated in an interview with Deutschlandfunk:

[Silajdzic] Whoever thought a civil war was going on in Bosnia can now see that this is a completely wrong idea. There is a group of terrorist Serb leaders in Bosnia, a group of terrorists who kill people, take them hostage, and so on. They showed their real faces in the past few days. I think that the international community must finally realize that the policy aimed at the containment of the conflict to Bosnia will not solve the problem. We demand weapons for Bosnia-Herzegovina so that it can defend itself if the international community fails to implement its own resolutions. The United

Nations violated its own charter by not allowing a member to defend itself and by pursuing a policy of conflict containment, which is the source of all problems in Bosnia. So whatever happens within the Bosnian borders, no matter whether 200,000 people, including 17,000 children, are killed—this is okay so long as the conflict does not spread across the Bosnian borders. This status quo policy has failed and has only led to the death of innocent people. That must now change. In short, the international community must act, or allow us to act. The third option—the status quo—is deadly for Bosnia. The public execution of people in this country must stop.

Ganic: Pale Serbs 'Mentally Deranged People'

AU2605160595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1347 GMT on 26 May broadcasts "a recording of today's news conference for foreign and local reporters" by Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Reception is poor.

Addressing the reporters, Ganic says that "the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is in a state of full readiness, but the Chetniks are not attacking our fighters, they are not attacking the front lines at the moment, they are attacking civilians, unarmed citizens of our country from locations several kilometers away from their targets. They are shelling residential areas in a cowardly way. The safe zones are being shelled. At the moment the district of Novo Sarajevo is being shelled, and other parts of the city, including the TV building and other locations where foreign reporters go. We have had two killed and seven wounded in Sarajevo so far. As you know, today life tends to be the most dangerous in the so-called safe zones.

"Our army and our people have a long-term program. Our army will continue to grow in strength, and we will defeat this Serbo-fascism. The lifting of the arms embargo is the solution to Bosnia-Herzegovina. We can with our army defeat the fascist program of Karadzic and his followers, but we do not have enough arms. For this reason, we believe that the lifting of the arms embargo is the quickest way to peace and justice.

"This criminal attack on Tuzla was an act committed by war criminals. That was their response to peaceful initiatives. The Chetnik leadership is a group of mentally deranged people. These are the same people who started their job by shelling the city maternity ward in Sarajevo at the beginning of the aggression.

"By 1200 we had received the following information from Tuzla: 69 killed and 148 wounded, of whom 30 are in critical condition. With the exception of two passersby, the oldest among those killed was 28, and the youngest was a two-and-a-half-year-old baby. Most of those killed were between 18 and 20 years of age. The shell landed in the place where the young people of Tuzla meet, and the names of those killed depict the multiethnic nature of Bosnia, and the multiethnic nature of the city of Tuzla, a city that is known in Europe as a city of tolerance and tradition."

Ganic then takes questions from journalists but, owing to outages and poor reception generally, this part of the news conference is unmonitorable.

Ljubijankic Death 'Planned Assassination'

AU2905201095 *Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At today's extraordinary session of the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina—Energy and Industry Minister Faruk Smajlbegovic presided—tribute was paid with a minute of silence to the deceased government members, Foreign Minister Dr. Irfan Ljubijankic, deputy Justice Minister Muhamedagic, [words indistinct].

The Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina stresses that the killing of Minister Ljubijankic, Deputy Minister Muhamedagic, and other members of the state delegation was a planned assassination, and that they, although aware of the risks involved, nevertheless departed on a very important mission in the region of Bihac and the Cazin Krajina.

The goal was identical as two and a half years ago when the Serbo-Montenegrin and [words indistinct] carried out the bestial killing of Deputy Prime Minister Hakija Turajlic: to remove the leading cadres of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The intention is to use their physical disappearance to weaken our defense and liberation struggle at a point when the crisis has significantly escalated and when all sorts of pressure is being applied to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and thus deal a fatal blow to our country's diplomatic efforts embodied in the past 20 months in the figure of Dr. Irfan Ljubijankic. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister To Strengthen Ties to Israel

TA2905125695 *Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1200 GMT 29 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The acting foreign minister of Bosnia has said that he intends to strengthen relations between his country and Israel and to visit here as soon

as this is possible. He accused the Serbs in Croatia of deliberately assassinating the Bosnian foreign minister by downing his plane.

Croatian Leader Says Bosnia To Remain Croatian

LD2805162095 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1342 GMT 28 May 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 28 (TANJUG)—Political leader of Bosnian Croats Dario Kordic said on Saturday that Bosnia has been and still remains to be Croatian.

Kordic told the Bosnian Croat radio that the concept of confederating the Bosnian Muslim-Croat federation with the adjacent Republic of Croatia was the Croatian people's strategic interest.

This confederation concept would be implemented, Kordic stressed.

In March, 1994, under Washington's pressure, Bosnian Muslims and Croats formed a federation which would confederate with Croatia but it exists only on paper since the partners do not renounce any of the state attributes.

Before they signed the Washington Agreement on their federation, Bosnian Muslims and Croats had been severely fighting each other for over a year's time, committing crimes against civilians, especially in central Bosnia where at that time Kordic was one of the major Bosnian Croat officials.

Croatian Official on Muslim-Croat Federation

LD3005153995 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1417 GMT 30 May 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 30 (TANJUG)—Kresimir Aleric, an official of the Republic of Croatia's newly-opened consulate in Mostar, Herzegovina, has told the Croatian radio that it will be seen soon whether the Muslim-Croat federation is the only option of resolving the Croat question in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Aleric said Monday at a ceremony in Mostar marking the 5th anniversary of the statehood of the Republic of Croatia that for the time being a confederation between the Muslim-Croat federation and the Republic of Croatia would warrant safety for Bosnian Croats.

Bosnian Muslims and Croats signed after almost a year of mutual fighting in March last year a U.S.-sponsored agreement on forming a binational federation

in Bosnia-Herzegovina and its subsequent confederation with Croatia.

Despite the agreement on the federation whose implementation is going slowly, the Bosnian Croats have not renounced their Republic of Herzeg-Bosna which they proclaimed in July 1992.

Milosevic Influence 'Very Limited' on Hostage Release

TA2905093095 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew
29 May 95 pp 1-2

[Report on interview with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Belgrade correspondent Pazit Rabina on 28 May; place not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic told DAVAR that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has very limited influence on the release of the UN hostages held by the Serbians in Bosnia in the wake of the cut in political and economic relations with Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Serbs in Bosnia. Jovanovic said he hopes Russian diplomatic intervention will help in the present case, just as it did in previous cases when hostages were taken in Bosnia.

Special Russian envoy Aleksandr Zotov is currently in Belgrade holding talks with President Milosevic. Sources in the Russian Embassy in Belgrade estimated yesterday that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, accompanied by Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, would be arriving for talks at Serbian headquarters in Pale. This report has not been confirmed by any other source.

Jovanovic added that despite significant difficulties, talks continue between Serbia and the Contact Group about recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina in exchange for a removal of the sanctions. He went on to say that Serbia supports the partition plan put forth by the Contact Group, but noted that all the sides in Bosnia should be allowed to discuss the plan on an equal footing.

According to him, the basic guarantees demanded by the Serbian rebels in Bosnia so as to treat the partition plan as a reasonable option rather than as a scheme against them is recognition that if they want to form a confederation with Serbia, the political and constitutional structure required to that end will be ensured.

Jovanovic did not acknowledge the demand of the Bosnian Serbs for an additional 4 percent of the territory in order to create territorial continuity with Serbia. This was an intentional move on his part designed to forestall

the claim that Serbia is again trying to create a "Greater Serbia."

'Confusion' in UNPROFOR Command Reported
LD2905143595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1334 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 29 May (SRNA)—There is confusion in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] command in Sarajevo due to disagreements between the United States and Germany, which are advocating the use of force against the Serb republic, and the countries with soldiers in the UNPROFOR, which are demanding negotiations to resolve the situation.

The Blue Helmets command is no longer in charge of the situation because national contingents are carrying out only orders given by their national military commands and governments, says a UN officer who has been deployed on the Serb side regarding a possible NATO air strike target.

Under the orders of the French General Staff and Government, General Herve Gobilliard started the action on the Vrbanja Bridge, although the UN peacekeeping command was against it.

Many UN officers are disappointed with their command in Sarajevo and they ask why numerous American officers and spies are in the command and what their role is in the UN mission, Serb military sources say, citing accounts by UNPROFOR members.

Serb Army Calls Captured UN Soldiers 'POW's'

LD2905210195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2024 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)—The information service of the General Staff of the Serb Republic army [in Bosnia] issued a statement this evening saying that the Serb Republic army is not holding a certain number of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members hostage, but as POW's who are treated in accordance with the international military convention on war prisoners.

A statement that was forwarded to TANJUG stresses that some public information media have said the Serb Republic army was "holding a certain number of UNPROFOR members hostage."

"However, the truth is that UNPROFOR and its members crudely went beyond the framework of their mandate and their authority during the latest NATO air strikes against Serb territory, forces, facilities, and on positions of the Serb Republic army and unprotected civilian facilities and villages. They openly sided with our enemies by guiding and carrying out air force and

other combat actions against the people and the Serb Republic army," the statement says.

"During the course of these combat activities, a certain number of UNPROFOR members were captured. They have the status of POW's, not of hostages. They have been and will be treated in accordance with the provisions of the international military convention on war prisoners," the statement says.

UN Criticized for Inaction in Safe Havens

AU3005084195 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 May 95

[Statement by Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the "Serb Republic's People's Assembly," in Pale on 26 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the UN order, NATO forces bombed several sites in the Serb Republic and caused great material damage. We will soon receive reports on the consequences of this attack [passage indistinct].

It is incomprehensible that the UN forces should take the enemy side, which is how we should view the UN forces, since, after what the UN forces did—or, better phrased, what they did not do—in western Slavonia, and what they did not do in the safe havens, there can be no excuse for the move they have made.

Safe havens are not safe havens. They are our enemies' landing points in which there are no protected civilians but armed forces. They are used as sites from which to attack our territory—specifically, from the Sarajevo safe haven [words indistinct] heavy weapons. In the Bihac safe haven [words indistinct], in the Tuzla safe haven [words indistinct], while in the Gorazde safe haven [words indistinct].

We will do everything to [words indistinct], and we wish to send a message both to our public and the international public that we have the right to freedom and to our own state, rights which we are going to exercise.

There is no basis for panic or any particular state of readiness; we are familiar with this kind of situation—unfortunately, in wars you have casualties and cases like this, and our fate is to fight against this, so we want to make it clear to our people as well as to the international public that we must exercise our right to defend ourselves, which we are going to do.

Bosnian Serbs: UN Resolutions 'Null and Void'*LD2905223895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
2210 GMT 29 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 29 May (SRNA)—The supreme command of the [Bosnian] Serb republic army has declared null and void all UN Security Council resolutions and announced that the Serb republic is restoring its sovereignty over its entire territory and air space.

According to a statement released by the bureau for press contacts of the Serb republic, a decision to this effect was made at a session of the supreme command of the Serb republic armed forces, which was held during the night between 28 and 29 May in Pale.

"Due to the United Nation's and NATO's flagrant interfering in the conflict and siding with one of the warring sides, all UN Security Council resolutions, all NATO ultimatums, and all agreements with the United Nations that have been abused are hereby declared null and void," says a statement that was forwarded to SRNA.

It was decided at the session "that changes in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate will not be accepted without new agreements with the Serb side on its presence in the region" and that the "[Bosnian] Serb republic is restoring its full sovereignty over the entire territory and airspace and bans all unauthorized flights."

The statement says that the session was chaired by Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic and the supreme commander of the armed forces. In addition to the members of the supreme command, the session was attended by Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the main headquarters of the Serb republic's army, and by his aides.

Platform for RS-RSK 'Unification' Adopted*AU2905095795 Novi Sad DNEVNIK
in Serbo-Croatian 26 May 95 p 2*

[Article by S. Risovic: "Platform for Unification Has Been Adopted"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 25 May—The platform for the unification of the Serb Republic [RS] and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] was adopted last night at the meeting of the interstate commissions in Banja Luka. Other details, such as the method of the unification of the Serbs living west of the Drina River, the deadlines, and cadre issues, will be discussed today.

"The most important thing is the determination of the Serbs west of the Drina River to finally and definitely

unite. I am sorry that this has not been done before because the circumstances were more favorable, but it is never too late. Will there be a unified Serb state or a federation? We will see, but the most important thing is to unite ourselves. I personally do not see any reason why the Serbs should be creating a federation," said Milan Babic, foreign minister in the RSK Government, who is chairman of the RSK parliamentary commission.

After last night's meeting, Nikola Koljevic, chairman of the RS parliamentary commission, said:

"Following the massacre of the Serb people in western Slavonia, it would be a real crime if the international community is again to point a finger at the Serbs. Our unification is not aimed against anyone, the Croats and the Muslims the least. The aim is only a struggle for survival on the centuries-old Serb territories.

"We agreed at the meeting to hold a joint session of the two parliaments at the end of May, most probably on 31 May, and to proclaim a joint Serb state west of the Drina River."

"I proposed, and this was accepted, that this session be a constituent session that would later adopt a constitution and other laws of the newly created Serb state," Babic said.

Presidents Radovan Karadzic and Milan Martic have jointly sent an invitation to the state leadership of Serbia and Montenegro to support the unification of all Serb states.

"I do not see why we should not go for the Pan-Serbian unification since the entire world had greeted German unification. We are not talking about some kind of a greater Serbia, but about a state encompassing all Serbs together with other peoples and nationalities," Milan Martic said.

Joint Serb State Called 'United Serb Republic'*LD2705210995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1930 GMT 27 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 27 May (SRNA)—The interstate commission for the preparation of the plan and laws regulating unification between the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina has forwarded the text of a decision on the state unification between these two Serb states to their assemblies for examination and adoption.

According to a statement that was sent to SRNA, the decision will be submitted to a joint session of the assemblies of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The commission has drawn up a draft constitutional law on the interim constitutional setup of the United Serb Republic [Ujedinjena Republika Srpska] that will be submitted to the constituent assembly of the joint state for adoption.

By drawing up the draft laws and submitting them to relevant bodies, the interstate commission today successfully wound up its work.

Zivanovic Warns of 'Thoughtless' Unification Plan
AU2905072795 *Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian*
23 May 95 p 6

[Article by M. Maric: "Way Into the Escalation of the War"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka—"The insisting of the president of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of all Serb lands and the president of the Serbian Republic, Radovan Karadzic, together with the parliament of the Republic of Serbian Krajina on the urgent unification of western Serb lands is yet another of many thoughtless political moves by the leadership." This was expressed in the statement by the Liberal Party of Banja Luka, signed by its president, Miodrag Zivanovic. The liberals believe that their insisting on unification will lead directly to a new escalation of the war.

"We cannot understand how Mr. Karadzic and the leaders of the Republic of Serbian Krajina did not see a long time ago that the Serbian, just like the Croatian and the Muslim, national issue cannot be solved through war. This also goes for the leaders of the Croatian and Muslim nations," Banja Luka liberals stress. "Human suffering and tragedies are multiplying from Vukovar and Bosnia to western Slavonia, and the inflammatory messages are not only coming from Serb political leaders. They are also coming from Zagreb and Sarajevo, as well as from Serbia, particularly from the Serb national-political bloc that inadequately calls itself the opposition (Seselj, Kostunica, and even Djindjic). Science is also involved in war games—represented in the works of highly educated 'national workers' and their tours through the Serbian Republic and the Republic of Serbian Krajina. The lectures of those historians, theoreticians of Islam, and all demagogues resemble inflamed speeches by military commanders on the eve of battles rather than anything that has to do with science," the statement of the Liberal Party of Banja Luka reads, and ends with the message: "First we need peace and then a political project that could seriously offer a solution for the Balkan crisis."

Commentary: Clinton Message Shows U.S. Support

LD2705194795 Zagreb HTV Television
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 27 May 95

[Commentary]

[FBIS Translated Text] By its content, the message sent by U.S. President Bill Clinton to President Tudjman on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of Croatian Statehood Day is not a letter of mere protocol which is sometimes sent on such occasions. The message is fundamentally the strongest public expression of U.S. support for the Croatian state and its policy so far.

Only three years ago we witnessed with certain regret U.S. indifference and a relatively cold attitude toward us, although in the United States we saw the example of democracy, prosperity, and justice. Today we can stress with pleasure that Croatian policy, having been implemented in the spirit of those basic American principles, has secured the support of the most important country in today's world.

The letter of felicitations clearly emphasizes at least three things: an understanding of the Croatian reality, an undisputed stance that territories which are still controlled by Serb rebels and their Belgrade sponsors are an irrefutable part of the Croatian state, and that by liberating western Slavonia Croatia has not become any sort of hawk.

What remains is the call for an urgent need to reach a Croatian-Serbian historical agreement which President Tudjman has voiced so many times. The action of liberation is only confirmation of Croatia's being a powerful player in this area, which is ready—if the other side turns a deaf ear—to act with other measures. But, more than anything, this is a call to Belgrade to give up its mythology which has caused so much evil, and to understand that this is not the time of the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, nor the time of Karadjordjevs, nor the end of the 1980's when non-Serb nations were threatened by the advance of the so-called antibureaucratic troops.

This is a time for reaching a lasting and fair peace. One of the significant sentences in Clinton's message is the one that speaks of progress in respect for the dignity of all citizens of Croatia. There could not have been better praise for what the Croatian authorities have been doing following the liberation of western Slavonia.

Tudjman Statehood Day Address to Assembly

LD2905202795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0845 GMT 29 May 95

[Statehood Day address to Croatian Assembly by President Franjo Tudjman—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear Mr. Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Croatian state Assembly, dear Madam Speaker of the House of Counties, dear deputies of both assembly chambers, dear members of the Croatian government and all representatives of the executive and judicial authorities, dear diplomatic representatives of foreign countries, esteemed guests and everyone present here:

We celebrate the fifth anniversary of a democratic, independent, and sovereign state of Croatia tomorrow, 30 May, on Statehood Day. Each nation goes through periods of exceptional and even historic importance in its history and political development. But rarely do developments of such a crucial significance, which cause such a fundamental change and turnaround in the entire history of a nation, unfold in such a short period of time, as has happened in the history of the Croatian nation in the past five years.

To back this statement, I will cite only the most important facts, which should be borne in mind when judgment is passed on this period.

In the Yugoslav socialist federation, the Croatian nation's survival was endangered in the political, economic, and demographic sense. In spite of this, some people on the Croatian political scene—under the patronage of foreign advocates of the preservation of the Versailles and Yalta Yugoslavias—wanted to see even more centralized bodies of power in the hands of the federal authorities in Belgrade under the pretence of the acceptance of democratization and free market.

It is obvious that these circumstances determined the fact that the ruling Communist League and almost all opposition parties did not demand a change in Croatia's state and legal status at the first multiparty parliamentary elections. The fact that the party which made this demand won the elections, precisely because of its program, had a far-reaching importance for the way developments unfolded in the past five years.

After the democratic authorities were established, we were thwarted in our orientation to make Croatia an independent state by the old constitutional order and its state, legal, judicial, economic, police, and in particular military systems and also by international circumstances. All important international factors were firmly

for the preservation of Yugoslavia, even when their interests dictated by the sphere of influence clashed on its soil. They opposed our allegedly narrow nationalistic demands with the same arguments used by the advocates of a Greater Serbia: Even after Tito, you Croats hold key positions in Belgrade, in the government, in the foreign ministry, in the army.

In this situation, we found support for our policies in confederal regulations of the Titoist constitutional system proclaiming the right of nations to self-determination and, of course, in the will and demands of the majority of the Croatian people. To this end, we held a referendum and fresh elections to prove the readiness and resolve of the Croatian nation and all Croatia's citizens to the Yugoslav and world public.

On our road of escape from the inevitable death of the communist regime and the disintegration of the Yugoslav multinational state, we faced many deadly dangers.

One of the first plans suggested that Croatia should be kept within the framework of Yugoslavia even after the predesigned and consensual departure of Slovenia. This greater-Serbian idea was also supported by the vast majority of the top brass, as they argued that such a Yugoslavia would be more stable. The agreement of the Serbian factors was paid for by the Slovenian factors by their statement that the Serbs were entitled to live in a single state. In addition to this, there was also the fact that the Macedonian and Bosnian representatives did not initially accept the Croatian proposals for resolving the state crisis along confederal lines, so one could draw conclusions on Croatia's position [as heard]. In those circumstances Croatia had no true allies in the internal sphere and even less so at the international level, with the proviso that for obvious reasons we tried to secure as much cooperation as possible with Slovenia in realizing our goals.

After we declared the constitution of sovereign Croatia and, later, made the decision to break state and legal links with Yugoslavia, the Yugo-communist and Serbian-Montenegrin army unleashed its armed force on Croatia, including the premeditated and organized rebellion of the Serb population in Croatia. The prime aim of this all-out attack throughout the year 1991, from Knin and Vukovar to Dubrovnik and the bombardment of the Presidential Palace, was to topple and behead the democratic authorities in Croatia in order to subject it again to Belgrade.

The secondary aim was to annex Croatian territories to a greater Serbia up to the Virovitica-Karlovac-Karlobag line. By efficiently organizing our all-people defense and by simultaneously creating our own police

and military forces we managed not only to defend Croatia but to provide effective help for the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There, the Serbian and Montenegro imperialists also aimed to subjugate the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Dalmatian coast up to Zadar, certainly including Makarska, or at least up to the left bank of the Neretva.

We preempted all of this, thanks to the maturity of the Croatian people and the unity of Croats both in the homeland and abroad as well as to the readiness and resolve of the state and political leadership. To the bewildering surprise of the Yugo-Serbian circles and the general surprise of international circles, Croatia emerged from the homeland war as the political and moral victor.

By accepting the Vance plan in early 1992, we averted the further destruction of Croatian cities and an unforeseeable number of casualties, and managed to secure the departure of the Yugoslav Army and Navy, while forcing even those international factors who were not sympathetic to us to accept the necessity of granting the independent Croatian state international recognition.

This reflected in the most obvious way the soundness and far-reaching dimensions of the successful harmonization of Croatian national and state interests with international circumstances. In that context, the main obstacles and impediments to acceptance of an independent Croatia were as follows: primarily, the accusations which claimed that it was a sequel to the fascist NDH [Croatian quisling state of Hitler's Europe. Also, it was the fact that we were the main culprits behind the breakup of Yugoslavia. We were even accused of damaging the international order. The blame for the collapse of Yugoslavia had particular gravity. Since its inception Yugoslavia had been cast in a special role in the rivalry of international powers and the spheres of influence.

Under Tito's leadership, it also played a positive role between the Soviet and the western bloc. It also played a role, acceptable to both blocs, in the third nonaligned world. It also served many people in the world as an example of not only possible ways of humanizing communist socialism but also as a model for the coexistence of different peoples in a multinational state community.

Moreover, it was cited as a model for the kind of possible integration, in this tumultuous area, such as the one that the European Union wants to bring about. Such views, supported by sufficient evidence from the point of view of European and world policy, were being taken more seriously as the crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia and particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina deteriorated. In this context one should bear in mind the particular, mutually exclusive

interests of individual European and world powers in this geopolitical border area where different civilizations face each other.

All of this conditioned, first, an unfavorable attitude to the international recognition of an independent Croatia and, second, the particular and uniform attitudes of otherwise mutually opposed powers in resolving the overall crisis created by the occupation of Croatian territory and the war and aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The consequences of this view and the deeply ingrained anti-Croatian stance toward a solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia are still evident in international talks today. These still influence the present-day proposal that the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis can be resolved through the preservation of the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina only under the condition that a new Yugoslav or Balkan confederation be created. And in order to make this proposal more palatable for Croatia, some call it an Adriatic confederation.

Many dream of forcing Croatia to accept such an idea by presenting it as being in its interest. To this end, they are trying to resolve the issue of Croatia's occupied territories in parallel with attempts to destabilize Croatia internally, which can be seen most clearly in attempts to cause a parliamentary and constitutional crisis and finally in demands to demilitarize Istria and take it beyond Croatia's borders.

The widespread and resilient nature of these ideas stems not so much from onesided subjective views but from the complex situation. National, religious, cultural, geopolitical, and strategic opposites of the European and world powers are intermingled here.

However, in spite of this very complex situation and disunity among the world community, I can say with satisfaction that the view that a solution to the overall crisis in the former Yugoslavia must be sought on the basis of mutual recognition of viable and internationally stable states has prevailed as the official view of the main international factors.

Croatia has gained the trust of the international community with its readiness to peacefully resolve the issue of occupied territories and to guarantee all rights to the Serb ethnic community. However, we have also made it clear that we have retained our right of sovereign state. The acceptance in principle of the Croat-Bosniak-Muslim federation and its confederation with Croatia has a special importance from the international and national point of view. The sovereign Croatia has been and is giving its support, as acknowledged by the world community, to efforts to end the war crisis and to lay the foundations of the new world order in this part of

Europe through its overall policy and the stability of its democratic order and principled stances.

Ladies and gentlemen deputies,

We celebrate the fifth anniversary of an independent, sovereign, and democratic Croatia in the same month in which the world celebrated the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism. Croatia took part in world celebrations in London, Paris, and Moscow, in which over 50 heads of states and premiers from all over the world took part. The fact that Croatia was invited to and took part in these celebrations is tantamount to the recognition of its contribution to the victory over fascism in WWII. Some historical facts were refreshed and distinctive messages were given to the world at these world celebrations.

Today's world order was established with the victory of the democratic antifascist coalition, in which the United States and the USSR—that is, present-day Russia—played the main role. But the role of Britain and France in the victory over the tripartite pact, Germany, Italy, and Japan, and its allies, cannot be forgotten. The allied powers still bear the greatest responsibility for international relations. Russia still keeps the role played by the USSR by stressing its role of world superpower. The world order is being built on reconciliation of once warring countries and generations of soldiers, who, as Mitterrand said, were fulfilling their duties. It is being stressed that one-time enemies have become close friends and allies, but it is still demanded that antifascist ideology and practice be banned.

We in Croatia celebrated the victory over fascism in a dignified way. But we have also paid respect to the victims of communism this month for the sake of our own and world public, and not for the sake of history but for the sake our present and future. Croatia has good reasons to participate as a full member of the antifascist alliance. In spite of indisputable historical facts, we still must prove to the world that the antifascist movement and its army of partisans and political representatives was stronger in Croatia than in any other country of the former Yugoslavia and even Europe. We should fully explain to the present and future generations of the Croatian nation that from the point of view of national history, it is not so important that the Croatian antifascist movement was against the NDH, because it could not escape the fate of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, and it is not important that it was developing within the Yugoslav framework because even Croatian Serbs in the partisan units were under the Croatian flag.

The fact is that Croats of both pro-Yugoslav orientation—Josip Broz, Ivan Ribar, Vladimir Bakarić—and pro-Croatian orientation—Andrija

Hebrang, Vlado Janjic, Ivan Rukavina, Vladimir Nazor, Franjo Gaz, Ivan Goran Kovac—headed the Yugoslav and Croatian antifascist movement. Both took part in the antifascist movement and in the rebuilding of Yugoslavia, and some of them are coresponsible for everything that communism did to the Croatian people. It is important that the Croatian antifascist movement has achieved results of far-reaching historical significance. The Croatian nation would share the fate of the defeated fascist forces if it did not have its antifascist movement and if it did not lead Yugoslavia, which ensured it was on the side of the winning democratic coalition of the antifascist forces.

The Croatian antifascist movement's contribution is that Istria was included in Croatia, while Rijeka, Zadar, the islands, and Italian-occupied parts of Dalmatia were returned to their fatherland. The antifascist movement created the ZAVNOH [Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Croatia] federal state of Croatia and the political and constitutional bases for the Yugoslav federation as a community of equal nations with the right to self-determination.

It is precisely this antifascist accomplishment that provided us with legal bases for leaving Yugoslavia and proclaiming independence. These are the reasons for which the democratic authorities of the Croatian people have the obligation to respect the objective assessment of the antifascist movement's role, and also to pay tribute to its participants.

But the present-day democratic and sovereign Croatia has, just the same, a duty and obligation to assess objectively the role of the NDH and those people who intentionally or by the force of law and circumstances shared its destiny. By most vehemently condemning all crimes perpetrated by the Ustashe regime within Hitler's European system, not only against the Jews and the Serbs, but also against Croatian antifascists, we must affirm the truth that a majority of the Croatian people did not share the NDH destiny because of their orientation toward fascism, but because of their aspiration to have their own state.

As many other nations throughout history, the Croatian people were also divided during World War II in a desire to achieve their freedom, being taught by history that only freedom could give them their state.

It is a historical truth that Croatian nationalists and communists, the forerunners of antifascism, cooperated before World War II in trying to destroy Yugoslavia as a prison of nations. It is likewise true that their ideological and military clash involved a degree of interdependence. Had there been no proclamation of the NDH on one

side, there would have been no ZAVNOH Croatia as a federal state on the other.

All these are reasons why democratic Croatia, established and viable only through the reconciliation of divided Croatia, honors the victims symbolized by Jasenovac and Bleiburg alike.

In view of our commitment to the policy of respecting historical truth and of safeguarding the foundations on which the Croatian state has been built, we must do everything in order to avoid being divided by the victims, either today or in the future; rather they should remind us of the need for lasting reconciliation and unity. Because of this we will build at Jasenovac a Croatian memorial to honor all victims of war. We will transfer there the remains of the victims of both fascism and communism—of course, each appropriately marked. And all those who have given their lives in the homeland war—so that we can build and defend present-day sovereign Croatia—will be commemorated by a memorial with their names engraved, as is customary in some other countries.

The democratic Croatian government and the Croatian public should spare no efforts to completely overcome bias, fallacies, and ideological-political delusions underlying past divisions, discord, and even hatred and strife, even between those who were slaves of neither fascist nor communist ideology but champions of Croatian freedom and of the Croatian state. That this is of vital importance for the spiritual, moral, and political state of the Croatian national being, i.e. for the future of the Croatian people is evinced by the fact that there is no single Croatian family that during the Second World War failed to make sacrifices at the altar of Croatian freedom on one or the other side, with many families being involved on both. And if they did not lose their father or brother in that infernal maelstrom, people lost a neighbor or a friend.

In spite of everything, the Croatian people have survived and have continued to attain maturity as a nation, to preserve the hope and faith in its future, and to muster forces capable of making appropriate perceptions and of drawing appropriate conclusions from these historical developments. They have provided foundations for the reconciliation of Croats and for attaining present-day independent Croatia. It is up to us, in both the spiritual and every other sense, to remove all the legacies of internecine strife in the Second World War. This is also the way to create once and for all the conditions in which the Croatian people will never again be forced or brought to a situation where they have to fight and die for the ideals and interests of others. The hatred with which Yugoslav and foreign opponents of

sovereign Croatia have pounced upon the idea and reality of Croatian reconciliation, Croatian freedom, and the Croatian state is not at all accidental.

Mr. Speaker, honorable members of parliament, ladies and gentlemen. History has marked all of us present here and all current generations for an exceptional task: to achieve the Croatian people's thousand-year long dream and goal to be the master in their own home! To control their destiny once and for all! To achieve their own, Croatian freedom in their own Croatian state! No normal person can doubt, I think, the fact that over the last five years we have essentially achieved this glorious and supreme goal, which in the conscience of a historically mature people appears as a real prerequisite for its existence as an entity in the global human community. This can be denied or questioned only by those who either cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that Croatia is an independent state or who deny its independence because they cannot attribute it to their own efforts or to the credit of their programs, those who place personal ambition or the party line above national interests. However, facts are stubborn, they tend to become historical reality, and ultimately everyone will get the place he deserves among the robes and in the body of history—that mother and stepmother alike [as heard]. And since history is not only being created but is also being written in the present, too, our future history as well as present-day reality hold little hope for those who seek to deny all the Croatian nation-building achievements and freedoms.

Thus, both the historical and political image and perception of results, personalities and programmes is formed in everyday life—in the awareness of individuals, of working and intellectual classes, and of the entire nation [as heard].

In my address to this honorable chamber at the end of last year, I spoke about the results achieved over this short period of time, the problems facing us, and the necessity resolutely and consistently to implement our state policy in all the activities of our undivided government. On this occasion I will only touch upon the major trends of the period from the establishment of democratic Croatia to the present day.

Today the Croatian people have their own government structured throughout in accordance with the democratic Croatian constitution—from top state bodies to local government bodies at the level of counties, municipalities, and towns. Representative bodies of these authorities were elected by the people in free elections; and administrative bodies were appointed by the representative bodies. Even under the conditions of aggression and the war of defense of our homeland, this govern-

ment fulfilled its tasks, despite being burdened by legacies of the past. Of course, it can and should improve its work, because this is an obvious requirement posed by our further democratic and nation-building progress.

We have developed our new, Croatian police and armed forces as effective instruments of Croatian policy since the very first day of Croatia's independence. That would have been impossible without the active participation of Croatian men and women who were members of the previous system. Therefore, nobody is entitled to denounce the presence of such people in the current Croatian government.

This point also refers to all other spheres of social and political life. However, such a principled position does not imply any neglect—it assumes consistency in our uncompromising position with respect to all vestiges of former bureaucratic, communist-totalitarian and, in particular, criminal-corrupt or anti-Croatian forces.

We have built our armed forces—the army, navy, and air force—with Croatian officers and generals. Together with our police, they have demonstrated their readiness, equipment, and ability on all the battlefields of the homeland war and, very recently, in the more than impressive liberation of Western Slavonia, which has won general recognition by the world. Today the Croatian Army is the pride of the Croatian nation and a firm support of the Croatian state policy.

Unknown or merely stigmatized until recently, Croatia now has both good friends and allies, having won, by the strength of its democratic system and by the principled character of its state policy, a place of its own within the global order. It also has a diplomatic service at the level of the major international players. The sovereign Croatian state has demonstrated its capability of being integrated in the global order of the United Nations. It is an indispensable subject and player in the creation of the new international order in the area of the former Yugoslavia and southeast Europe, which is still the object of speculations contrary to the interests of sovereign Croatia.

Despite all the consequences of aggression and war, in our economic revival we have succeeded in cutting down inflation and introducing a stable national currency. To the surprise, amazement, and appreciation of relevant international financial players, Croatia is one of the rare countries in the world with the lowest rate of inflation.

The replacement of the notorious dinar, the symbol of the longstanding exploitation of Croatia, has been of huge economic and political significance. The stable kuna has reinforced people's trust in their government,

simultaneously creating conditions and building trust among business people in Croatia's stable economic development.

Within the scope of our comprehensive state policy, we have found the development of the demographic revival program to be of vital and overall national interest to Croatia. It must comprise not only the securing of a demographic growth, and the solution of the problem of displaced persons and refugees, but also the return of Croatian people from abroad. This is an objective of the highest strategic importance.

Demographic revival is possible only over a longer period, but the current state of affairs is so disturbing that concrete steps will have to be taken without any delay. Success in this will require commitment by all national and state forces within the framework of a general spiritual and economic revival of the Croatian people.

The huge problems facing us stem from our longstanding historical legacy and primarily from the collapse of the communist social system and the Yugoslav state structure as well as, of course, from disrupted relations and upheavals in the international order. All this has affected all the elements of Croatia's internal development and its international position. Like all other former socialist countries, Croatia is still waging—moreover in substantially more adverse conditions—a bitter battle to overcome all vestiges of the rejected socialist, totalitarian-collectivist structure and to build a new democratic system.

The difficulty and complexity of this transition is best evinced by the fact that in many former socialist countries, reformed communists have remained in power or are staging a comeback. In Croatia this has not been the case for two reasons. First, communist reformists were already discredited in Titoist Yugoslavia; second, we, in Croatia, knew how to set up a stable democratic order—both in terms of our program and of actual achievement—which did not depend on coalition-provoked political turmoil like in many other countries. Nevertheless, in this struggle between the new and the old, which is also present in our country, we are still faced with vacillations and exaggeration, loss of one's bearings and bias.

Some people find it hard to grasp that not everything is good in a democratic paradise, just as everything was not bad in the communist hell. Indeed, some people have been abusing multiparty democracy in order to legalize anarchy and irresponsibility, not only in the media but even in government. This is unacceptable to any democratic society. Democracy assumes variety and tolerance, but also culture and responsibility for

one's words and deeds. In our conditions, in particular, democracy must assume and allow the fostering of genuine, universal human values and virtues essential to the survival and health of the national being and to the strength of the state—all of which are being threatened by various forms of destruction and dehumanization.

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen. In looking back at the road we have travelled over the past five historic years, we can conclude that these were days of struggle and blood, of destruction and suffering, but also days of pride and glory. These were days that required exertion of all the spiritual and physical sources and forces of the Croatian people. In these crucial, uncertain, and difficult days the Croatian people passed their historic test in an admirable way—on the battlefields, in the fields and factories, at universities, on sports grounds, and in all spheres of culture and government. We have achieved all this on our own, with God's help alone, to the surprise and admiration of the world. Rightfully proud of their achievement the Croatian people, for the first time under their own flag, spread the truth about their homeland from the global organization of the United Nations to the remotest countries of the world in which they formerly lived as exiles with no possibility of being invited to their own country, let alone of relying on it.

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of independent and sovereign Croatia, we can rightfully assert that the work of the founders of Croatian freedom and the Croatian state, of the heroes and knights of the homeland war, will forever remain indelibly impressed on the historical memory of the future generations of the Croatian people. Although in the conscience and spiritual vision their people have already built a monument more durable than brass, to quote the poet, this anniversary is the occasion to put forward the idea to build a magnificent monument to Croatian freedom in Zagreb, the capital of all Croats.

Over the past, five years we have achieved more than the Croatian people could have hoped for. Never again will anyone be able to underrate, let alone invalidate, the magnitude of our achievement during the years of our Croatian revival. These past years have been uncertain and difficult, but they have also been glorious years during which we achieved our century-long dreams. Only the opponents of Croatian freedom and of the Croatian state, or petty political minds lacking the maturity necessary to participate in the creation of our history, can question their significance which, after all, has been recognized by the whole world. The sacrifices made by the Croatian people throughout their history, and particularly in the homeland war, to achieve free and independent, sovereign and internationally recognized state of Croatia must be honored by our own generation

and our future generations. For centuries the Croatian people have fought with pen and with sword, they have suffered and perished, and now they have achieved their own state with the ultimate aspiration to make it a country of all freedoms, peace and happiness, prosperity and overall human dignity for both the Croatian people and all its citizens.

Therefore, on this fifth anniversary and all future anniversaries of Croatian Statehood Day, may our Croatia—oppressed and long-suffering throughout history but never destroyed—free and independent, sovereign and proud now, may our only and eternal Croatia live and flourish forever!

Valentic Holds Talks With Iranian Delegation

*LD2605154795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Official talks were held in Zagreb today between delegations from the Croatian Government and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Albino Cehic reports:

[Begin recording] [Cehic] Greeting the guests from Iran, Prime Minister Nikica Valentic said that Croatia fully supported the Croat-Muslim alliance at all levels, a speedier implementation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and the quickest possible establishment of a confederation with Croatia. He also expected to achieve a high degree of coordination between the three governments tomorrow. He went on to say:

[Valentic] Iran is Croatia's fifth most important partner. This speaks for itself regarding relations between Croatia and Iran, and I must take this opportunity to say that the economic imbalance is now to the detriment of Croatia because we import far more Iranian goods than we export goods to Iran. Therefore, I believe that during the talks over the next several days we will find ways of increasing our exports to Iran, especially food—chicken and turkey meat—wood, furniture, equipment for ships, and medicines. Our goods are of high quality and can meet all world export standards. More will be said about this during a meeting between the Iranian and Croatian trade ministers this afternoon. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Habibi, Silajdzic, Valentic Talks Viewed

*LD2705155195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Official talks took place in Zagreb between delegations of the Islamic Republic of Iran, led by First Vice President Dr. Hasan Habibi; the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, headed by Haris Silajdzic; and

the Government of the Republic of Croatia, headed by Prime Minister Nikica Valentic. The talks covered political and economic relations between the three countries and were followed by a news conference, from which Albino Cehic reports:

[Cekic] Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic said that Croatia and Iran had very successful bilateral talks yesterday on political and economic issues, during which a high level of agreement was reached on all questions. Nikica Valentic went on to say:

[Begin Valentic recording] We consider the realization of economic cooperation both between our two countries and between all three countries together very important. Today we agreed on and set up a committee for economic cooperation and relations between our three states. The members of the committee are, on the Iranian side, Minister of Roads and Transport Akbar Torkan; on the Croatian side, Minister of Economy Nadan Vidosevic; and on the Bosnia-Herzegovina side, Minister of Industry Faruk Smajlbegovic. Today we have already established the first three tasks of the committee: to draw up a list and analysis of the economic possibilities of all three countries, and possibilities for cooperation in specific areas between the three countries; second, plans for the reconstruction of damaged factories and plants in Bosnia-Herzegovina; and third, plans and intensive work on the recovery of Ploce port and the essential prerequisites for the realization of this economic cooperation.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank their excellencies Mr. Habibi and Mr. Silajdzic for their cooperation and for reaching a very high level of agreement in our positions. [end recording]

[Cekic] Next Hasan Habibi, first vice president of the Republic of Iran, spoke. He said that he did not wish to repeat what Prime Minister Valentic had already said, but he wished to add that the three countries were calling on the international community to carry through the adopted resolutions on the situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina or to enable them to defend themselves. We have also condemned what happened a few days ago in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Habibi said, when many people were killed. We insisted in today's talks that the freedom, sovereignty, and integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia should be respected. We also founded a committee for economic questions that will set out points of mutual interest for cooperation, and in which products and under what conditions we can develop our trade. I would like us to meet in six months time in a liberated Sarajevo, Habibi said in conclusion.

Silajdzic said that today's meeting was a successful model of international cooperation. We came here to

affirm peace and condemn violence, he said and went on:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] Today communications enable us to globalize everything. We came here today to globalize peace. On the one hand, we have made efforts to reach peace, efforts to promote international cooperation and promote and improve the standard of living and prosperity of our peoples. On the other hand, unfortunately, we have destruction, the violation of human rights, and the violation of the basic tenets of international order. [end recording]

[Cekic] On the basis of numerous questions from journalists, the main conclusion from the news conference is that the governments of Croatia, Iran, and Bosnia-Herzegovina are calling for a peaceful solution to hostilities and the peaceful reintegration of occupied areas. Otherwise, we want the right to defend ourselves because it is a question of the violation of our rights.

Martić to Yeltsin: Stop Croat, Muslim Madness

LD2705142695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 27 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 27 May (TANJUG)—Milan Martić, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], today sent a letter to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, asking him to follow "the centuries-old examples of the Russian tsarist state," which was "the protector of the Orthodox population of the Balkans, which is the best way of protecting its own national interests."

Martić states in his letter, sent to TANJUG from the office of the RSK president, that the Serb people are, for the third time this century, "being subjected to a genocide" whose aim is to murder, evict, and assimilate the Orthodox Serbs in the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, a project backed by the Germans.

"This aim is of such huge strategic importance for the Germans that they are prepared to disregard all the norms of civilized behavior to achieve it. In this situation, the Serbs will remain alone, facing the possibility of extinction which Adolf Hitler—and the Independent State of Croatia which he set up—could not manage to complete in World War II," Martić writes, noting that nowadays "under pressure from Germany, the whole world is supporting the Croatian-Muslim state which is based on the same principles."

Martić recalls that on advice from the Russian Federation, the RSK signed—at the Russian Embassy in Zagreb—the Zagreb agreement with the Republic of Croatia on the cessation of hostilities and a number of

economic agreements, including the agreement to open the Belgrade-Zagreb highway.

The Republic of Croatia, however, disregarded these agreements and the Russian Federation's guarantees when it launched the large-scale military aggression against the RSK on 1 May 1995.

Recalling the victims of the Croatian crimes and saying that "evil in the Balkans will not stop after the extinction of the Serbs west of the river Drina," Martić calls on Russia to bar the way to "the new war madness of the Croats and Muslims, which is backed by Germany."

Mikelic Dismissed for Opposing Merger With RS

*AU2905135995 Paris AFP in English
1333 GMT 29 May 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, Croatia, May 29 (AFP)—The rebel Serb assembly in Croatia's Krajina on Monday dismissed the government of their "prime minister" Boyrislav Mikelic.

Forty-six "legislators" meeting here voted against Mikelic, whom they accuse of opposing unification with rebel Serbs in neighboring Bosnia, and three abstained in a censure motion.

The assembly had approved a merger between the two Serb-controlled areas on May 20.

The censure motion was introduced by "foreign minister" Milan Babic's Serb Democratic Party (SDS) after accusations that Mikelic was opposed to the merger of the territory held by the Krajina Serbs and the self-styled Serb Republic [RS] in neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At Monday's meeting the "legislators" were also to approve a parliamentary report outlining the modalities of the proposed unification and discuss a draft constitution for the future unified Serb state.

Serb rebels in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina last week decided to put off the first joint session of their two "parliaments" to a later date. The meeting of the two assemblies which had been expected to announce the regions' unification was initially scheduled for May 31 in Knin, capital of Krajina.

Ousted Krajina Prime Minister's Statement

LD2905161795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)—Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], today addressed the public and the deputies to the RSK Assembly in a statement, warning against the negative consequences of the hasty decision

on the rapid unification with the Serb republic. The following is his statement in its entirety:

Recently, our public has been deluged by controversial reports on the latest developments in the RSK, so the well-intentioned and objective reader can hardly make sense of them. In my capacity as RSK prime minister, I feel responsible for providing additional explanations about the most important recent developments for the sake of truth and in order to protect my personal dignity and integrity, as well as that of the group of ministers who have conscientiously and thoroughly worked above a level that can be expected and demanded of one's aides.

The decision by the RSK Assembly to embark on a process of rapid and separate unification with the Serb republic is, in my view, a grave mistake, which I have been warning against and still am. This is, in effect, a policy of disunity rather than unity because this decision does not take into account the attitude of Serbia, in its capacity as the mother country of the Serbian people, toward ways of securing this goal in a realistic way and with a minimum number of casualties and as little suffering as possible on the part of the Serbian people. Second, this decision introduces even further a multicentric way of conducting national policy, something that cannot bring about any good for any people.

From the economic point of view, this means that the RSK gives up cooperation with the FRY, although its trade with the FRY is 10 times greater than that with the Serb republic. Because of the resulting breakdown in Krajina's links with Yugoslavia, this decision will most certainly result in Krajina being split into its western and eastern halves, which will not accept this kind of unification.

This decision damages the international position of the RSK and the Serb republic. Who will regard this new state as a partner in negotiations? The decision also suspends all the agreements and resolutions that were, in a way, based on Krajina's identity. It also renders Croatia free to launch another military aggression against Krajina without the risk of "earning" any kind of sanctions. This decision is a mask to disguise all the anticonstitutional and disastrous mistakes in the analyses and decisions made by the president of the Republic, particularly in the catastrophe of the people of western Slavonia.

Reports presented to the RSK Assembly by the chief of the general staff of the Krajina Serb Army and the republican president showed that there were neither good defense plans, nor good assessments of the situation, nor high quality of command and action coordination. Finally, the decision is not a result of the conviction of

the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Krajina that this was the best solution for Krajina and its people. It is a result of an unholy alliance with the Serbian Radical Party and the republican president, which was forged to secure their survival on Krajina's political scene. It was far from me to take part in such activities.

The second issue that has become overpoliticized is the initiative for my dismissal put forward at today's RSK Assembly session. Although the Assembly speaker reassured me that only laws and the budget and possibly a discussion on the takeover of Krajina television were on the agenda, the agenda was being changed last night by the SDS deputies' club and by Milan Babic, SDS chairman and a minister in my government, toward whom I behaved correctly. All of this tells more about them than about the justifiability of the dismissal motion. If I am being held responsible for statements I made after an Assembly session, statements that did not substantially change Assembly decisions, the question is when responsibility will be established for Martić and Babic disregarding the Assembly's conclusion six, which says that no activity going against the interests of Yugoslavia and Serbia will be undertaken. As you can see, however, all this is happening, and in a funny sort of way.

As an experienced public and political worker, I do not oppose this in the least, for I have repeatedly stressed that no government lasts forever, and no government leaves office with laurels, regardless of what it has achieved. One year has just elapsed since it was elected, and one should have waited for a report on the government's work and the work of individual ministers. I also have to say that the report would not describe some ministries held by the SDS of Krajina in favorable terms.

In the context of this address to the Assembly and the public, I have to draw attention to a few facts that depict the SDS's as well as Milan Babic's conduct. First, until only a few days ago, the SDS unreservedly supported the government and myself as its prime minister. The SDS had seven ministers in the government. Furthermore, the Krajina SDS opposed any debate on confidence in the government and the initiative by the RSK president for its dismissal. The question arises over what facts had so radically changed that the attitude of the SDS and Milan Babic, or more precisely, over what kind of political deal was made behind this decision. If the main reason behind the initiative was my address at the Assembly in Borovo Selo and my statements after this session, in which I warned about all the possible consequences of a hasty political decision on rapid unification with the Serb republic, then I do not oppose

in the least your making decisions on these grounds, on my statements and your interpretations.

I am deeply aware that on the night of 16 May, between Tuesday and Wednesday—the night when Radovan Karadzic's party leaders Atanasije Jeftic and Amfilohije Radovic, Milan Martic, and the SDS Krajina leadership met—this meeting was crucial for this decision. This only accumulates Babic and Martic's responsibility for all consequences that will stem from this decision. The day after, 17 May 1995, a protest meeting led by Martic's ringleaders—Sandic, Goran Opacic, and Cubrilo—was held in Knin, following which they entered Knin Radio and Television by force, insulted everyone there, and shouted slogans like: Whoever was against the unification would be lynched and killed. This shows that a law-governed state cannot be reached in this way.

This protest meeting and all other meetings held in the RSK at the time of the imminent threat of war, as well as threats issued against the SDS Krajina leadership, the government, and my person, showed your true attitude toward that event and, of course, toward the Borovo Selo discussion on the main topic: the aggression against western Slavonia and the fate of the people.

Instead of stating clearly that the 18th Corps, General Celeketic, and Milan Martic, the real commander of the RSK Army, are guilty for the military defeat in and the fall of western Slavonia and the suffering of the people, you set up an assembly commission to water down responsibility and save Martic from responsibility for the sake of some political deals.

His warmongering politics and absolute takeover of the Army and the police, which caused far-reaching harm to the RSK, cannot be covered up by any Assembly, including the one sitting today. Following everything he has said to the people of western Slavonia on 25, 26, and 27 April and everything he has done to exacerbate problems on the ground and the current tragic fate of the Serb people in that part of Krajina, he—if he had a trace of morality in him—would resign and would not rush into unification with the [Bosnian] Serb republic in order to cover up for his enormous responsibility.

I would hereby like to inform the public and the RSK Assembly deputies that I have no intention of attending parliamentary sessions nor of convening sessions of the government in Knin, for as long as mental and physical maltreatment and harassment of political opponents by President Martic and his clique continues. A way out of this situation—following the fall of western Slavonia and the loss of a considerable part of the RSK territory, the suffering of the people, and the loss of 14 members of parliament—ought to be sought in new elections for the new head of state, a new parliament, and a new

government. One should proceed from the fact that, following the fall of western Slavonia, nobody can say that they do not bear moral responsibility. The people have changed so much. Therefore, it is necessary to assess through elections who this people is ready to support and what sort of political and state option for Krajina can win people's support.

Should you decide to discuss the confidence vote in the prime minister in my absence, you will most probably not find it difficult to apply your voting arithmetics together with the Serbian Radical Party. Neither I nor the majority of government ministers will have any regrets that we are no longer in the government with Mr. Babic because we will no longer be exposed to RSK President Milan Martic's primitive political harassment in the westernmost part of Krajina.

The level of (dis)unity [TANJUG parentheses] is best illustrated by the number of deputies—which has never been lower in this RSK Assembly—from which you can draw conclusions on the consequences of the decision that you are going to make.

As far as I am concerned, I will continue to help the people as much as the circumstances allow, as I had done before my election as the prime minister. The coming period will very soon provide replies to many questions that I dealt with in this address to the Assembly and the public, Mikelic's statement to the public and the RSK Assembly says in conclusion.

RSK Assembly Approves RS, RSK Unification

AU3005095095 Knin Srpski Radio Krajina Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] RSK Assembly deputies, continuing the fourth regular sitting of the first session this year, unequivocally supported the decision on the unification of the Republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb Republic as well as the constitutional draft bill on the temporary constitutional organization of the United Republic. Milan Babic submitted a report on the work of the joint commission of the Republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb Republic for the preparation of the unification.

'RSK' Condemns Pro-Milosevic Officials

LD2905230695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1940 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 29 May (SRNA)—At the fourth sitting of their first regular session in Knin today, deputies of the Assembly of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] endorsed the resolution on the unification of the RSK and the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and the draft constitutional law providing for the interim period.

Deputies also analyzed the situation in the eastern part of the RSK [eastern Slavonia], and condemned the so-called coordination committee for Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem as self-styled, illegitimate, and anticonstitutional.

"Decisions by this quasi-governmental, illegitimate body are designed to break up the RSK, to destroy its institutions and its legal system, and are an obstacle in the efforts to secure the right to self-determination for the Serb people in the RSK," deputies concluded.

The RSK Assembly charged competent state bodies, primarily the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Supreme Defense Council, and the Main Headquarters of the Serb Army of Krajina to take all necessary measures to secure normal functioning of the institutions of the legal system in the eastern part of the RSK.

Deputies condemned the activities of Goran Hadzic, the president of the so-called coordination committee; the RSK Assembly Vice President Boro Bogunovic; deputies Jovo Rebrac and Slavko Dokmanovic; and Ministers Simo Cijan and Branko Petrovic, and came to the conclusion that only deputies elected freely in multiparty elections can legitimately represent the people.

Deputies also agreed that the governments of the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should be asked immediately to send back to the RSK all able-bodied men—military deserters.

In the latter part of its session the Assembly discussed a number of draft financial laws.

30 May 1995

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

47

Gligorov Urges Greece To End Embargo

NC2605142695 Athens ATHENS NEWS in English
26 May 95 p 4

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rome (Combined reports)—Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov urged Greece yesterday to drop its trade embargo against his country and to take a bigger role in the Balkan peace process.

"Greece has a responsibility as the only Balkan country in the European Union and NATO to bring stability to the region," Gligorov said. "And we would be ready to support Greece in this endeavour."

Gligorov, on a state visit to Italy and the Vatican, said he would be willing to hold direct talks with Greece on their dispute over his country's chosen name, which is the same as the neighbouring Macedonia province in northern Greece, but only if Greece drops the embargo. "Our position is that, under the weight of the embargo, we would not be an equal partner in direct talks," he told a news conference in Rome.

But Greek Premier Andreas Papandreou said on Wednesday [24 May] that the major stumbling block to a resolution of the Athens-Skopje [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] dispute was Gligorov's continuing intransigence, "despite the great effort made by Greece and UN mediator Cyrus Vance to commence negotiations."

Athens imposed the trade embargo against Skopje last year, saying its new neighbour's choice of a name when it broke from Yugoslavia in 1991 implied territorial ambitions against the Greek province. Under a provisional United Nations compromise it is currently known as FYROM.

Gligorov said his country was committed to staying out of the war in Bosnia and Croatia and said U.S. peacekeepers stationed in the north of his country would stay until the conflict was over "as a message that the war cannot expand to the south."

He said the purpose of his visit to Italy, which included a meeting with Italian President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro on Wednesday, was to strengthen economic ties and to review the Bosnian peace process so "this senseless war does not spread."

Gligorov is scheduled to meet Pope John Paul at the Vatican today, which established diplomatic ties with FYROM last December. "We appreciate the Pope's peace-loving stance on understanding, tolerance and dialogue as ways of solving conflicts," he said, looking forward to the audience with the pontiff.

The U.S. presence in a peacekeeping force is valuable in keeping the Balkan war from entering FYROM, the president told reporters, referring to about 500 U.S. troops who are part of the mission which monitors FYROM's northern border with Serbia.

"We think that the presence of U.S. forces is very positive. It represents, even symbolically, a sign that the conflict cannot take place" in the territory of FYROM, he stressed.

People's Democratic Party Holds First Congress

AU3005102095 Skopje MIC in English 29 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The People's Democratic Party (NDP) will not back down from its platform also in the future, i.e. it will continue to act in line with its national interests. As a resume, this was announced at yesterday's first Congress of NDP, which was held in Tetovo on Saturday, in front of some 200 delegates and numerous guests from political parties from Albania and FR Yugoslavia (Kosovo), as well as representatives of the political parties of the Albanians in Macedonia.

The Congress began after the playing of the Albanian national anthem, without the playing of the Macedonian anthem as well, and high up on the platform, the Albanian flag and the flag of the party were raised alongside the Macedonian flag.

The Congress supported NDP's platform and the activities surrounding the Tetovo university. In his introductory speech, the president of the party Ilijaz Halimi said that the party's programme was not directed against anyone, and that it consisted of realistic requests, which were both rational and feasible. The Congress is demanding equality of the one-third Albanians living in Macedonia, the census conducted under international control is negated, while the work of the Parliament is assessed negatively as it works with majorization and outvoting.

According to Halimi, the Constitution is the generator of all the problems in Macedonia, and therefore it has to be changed. As one of the solutions, he pointed out that the Albanians needed greater autonomy and new parliamentary elections.

Foreign Minister Leads First Delegation to PRC

AU3005104795 Skopje MIC in English 29 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A delegation of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Foreign Ministry, led by minister Stevo Crvenkovski is leaving on a several-day visit to the People's Republic of China today, at the invitation of the

**THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF
MACEDONIA**

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30 May 1995

Vice-President of the Chinese Government and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

Minister Crvenkovski will meet with high representatives of the Chinese political, public and cultural sphere, and visit some important Chinese institutions. The visit will concentrate on issues that are of mutual interest for both countries, in particular the bilateral relations and cooperation in the sphere of political life, cooperation on an international plan, as well as economic, cultural and other themes.

Several documents are also expected to be signed during the visit.

It is worth noting that this is the first state visit to China of an official Macedonian delegation.

**Islamic Holy Synod Suspends Macedonian
Language**

AU3005105095 Skoje MIC in English 29 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Presidency of the Republic Community of Cultural-Scientific Ceremonies of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Muslims, is surprised and aston-

ished at the act of the Meshihat (Holy Synod of the Islamic church) of the Islamic religious community in Macedonia. Namely, according to yesterday's press release, for quite some time now, it has suspended the official Macedonian language from use. Hence, the official letters are written and sent in areas inhabited by Islamized Macedonians only in Albanian language. Also, the only language used in the meetings of the Meshihat is the Albanian, which is unintelligible to the believers of the other nationalities.

All of this speaks that not only does the Islamic community have no respect for the country it lives and works in, its Constitution and laws, but it also presents a source for majorization of the Albanian language, for elimination of the Macedonian language, the penetration of the Albanian alphabet as official for all members of the Islamic religion. Thus, the presidency raises the question in whose service this Meshihat is, if not only the Albanian nationality, which speaks enough that the Islam is involved in anti-Macedonian political games, and the Macedonian Muslims, as decoration in the face of politics, are victims in the practical actions of the Meshihat of the Islamic community.

2 Polish Officers Identified Among UN Hostages

LD2705103795 Warsaw PAP in Polish
0917 GMT 27 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 27 May—Two Polish officers, Colonel Janusz Kalbarczyk and Lieutenant Colonel Wieslaw Wojtasik, are among the UN observers captured by the Bosnian Serbs, the Polish Defense Ministry's Press and Information Office confirmed today.

Col. Janusz Kalbarczyk was taken hostage (together with other observers of the team—a Spaniard, a Russian, a Ghanaian, and a Czech) in Pale yesterday afternoon. The observers were taken to Jahorinski Potok, which was the target of NATO air strikes.

Lt. Col. Wieslaw Wojtasik was captured in Kasindo, southeast of Sarajevo, together with the other observers in the team—a Nigerian, a Czech, a Dutchman, and a Swede. These observers are under armed guard by Bosnian Serb troops, and radio contact with them has been broken.

Ministerial Team Formed To Deal With Hostages

LD2705173495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program
Network in Polish 1700 GMT 17 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Foreign Ministry has set up an interdepartmental coordinating team to secure the release of two Poles being held by Serbs as hostages.

The Polish Foreign Ministry has already asked those states whose citizens have been made hostages of the Bosnian Serbs, to exchange information and to undertake joint actions. The Polish Embassy in Brussels has been instructed to establish contact with the embassies of NATO member states and to join political actions undertaken on the matter by the alliance.

Walesa, U.S. Senator Discuss Security, NATO

LD2905110595 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1000 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 29 May—Lech Walesa, the president of the Polish Republic, today received U.S. Senator Hank Brown. The issues of European security and Poland's attempts to join NATO were discussed during the meeting. The president decorated Senator Hank Brown with the Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Polish Republic for his outstanding merits in developing Polish-American cooperation, the presidential press office announced.

Senator on Aid for NATO Entry

LD2905125795 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1032 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 29 May—In American Senator Republican Hank Brown's view, Poland is of basic importance to NATO and is hard to imagine any expansion of the alliance in which Poland was not either first or one of the first to join.

After his meeting with President Lech Walesa, the American guest has been received by Senate Speaker Adam Struzik. Senator Brown also met National Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski and Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee.

After the meeting with Brown, Speaker Struzik said that "in a sense the Americans feel morally obliged to actively support our aspirations to join NATO. This transpires from their behavior and restraint in 1939 and later in Yalta and Potsdam". Struzik stressed that Poland cannot remain "in a gray zone of security and that our security as regards both eastern and western neighbors is at stake."

During the talks the issue was also raised of "some funds on the secondary financial market of the United States, which may be used for assistance to Poland, for setting up a system of credits for housing construction, for example."

According to Geremek, the American politician assured that both himself and other supporters of a "shorter path" to NATO for Poland and its neighbors would consistently strive for the adoption of the amendment, which "has full chances of winning the support by the U.S. Congress." Among other things, this amendment would put the U.S. Administration under the obligation to work out a special program of assistance to the Visegrad Group states in adapting their armies to NATO standards. The draft mentions Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia as the states meeting conditions for the membership in the treaty.

Both Brown and his Polish interlocutors stressed that there were no "anti-Russian tendencies" in their actions aimed at Poland's integration with the alliance.

Yeltsin To Send Filatov to Katyn Memorial

LD3005081895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program
Network in Polish 0600 GMT 30 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Neither Boris Yeltsin nor Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn will come to Katyn on 4 June for the ceremonies of laying a cornerstone for a Polish cemetery. The Russian president will only send Sergey Filatov, the head of the Russian Administration, for the Katyn ceremonies.

Minister Andrzej Zakrzewski of President Lech Walesa's Chancellery went to Moscow last week to persuade the Russian president to visit Katyn. This was refused, recalling at the same time that Lech Walesa did not come to the Russian capital for ceremonies marking Victory Day, and Yeltsin had already apologized to the Poles.

There is an opinion in the Kremlin that the Poles are too attached to history and are engrossed in symbolism. Lech Walesa's invitation has also been refused by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

Silesian Miners Demonstrate, Clash With Police

LD2605135295 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1300 GMT 26 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A demonstration by more than 10,000 trade unionists from Silesia is in progress in front of the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM]. They are protesting against the government's lack of interest in the region's difficult situation.

The demonstration began with the singing of the national anthem. The miners are now shouting, lighting firecrackers, and throwing lumps of coal in the direction of the government building.

Trade union leader Marian Krzaklewski, together with a group of organizers of the protest, are trying to restore order, so that a rally can begin. [passage omitted]

[Warsaw PAP in Polish at 1302 GMT on 26 May adds: "Police clashed with miners demonstrating in front of the URM building in Warsaw when, after Krzaklewski said the words 'be tough,' the miners began to pull down the railing preventing entry to the government headquarters. The forces of order then used a water cannon. The organizers of the demonstration decided to go to the Sejm building, where the majority of the government representatives are."

["While the forces of order were pushing the miners away from the government headquarters, there were individual clashes between miners and policemen. Some of the miners were beaten. They are receiving medical assistance."]

'Several' Injured in Clashes

AU2605160695 Paris AFP in English 1543 GMT 26 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Warsaw, May 26 (AFP)—A demonstration by around 10,000 workers led by the Solidarity trade union degenerated into clashes with police Friday in which several people were hurt, an AFP reporter at the scene said.

The rally of miners and metalworkers was to protest against "unemployment, factory closures and the worsening environmental situation" in Upper Silesia, south-east Poland, according to an open letter in the media. Factory workers from the Warsaw suburb of Ursus also took part in the protest.

They marched to government buildings in the city shouting "down with the communists" before scuffles broke out in which police used water cannon and truncheons.

Several demonstrators were hurt and taken to hospital. A number of policemen were hit by stones thrown by some of the crowd.

The street clashes were the first since the ex-communists came to power in September 1993.

Led by Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski, the crowd jostled with police blocking access to the government building. A large number of riot police, among them cavalry and dog units, then baton-charged the crowd and used water cannon to disperse the demonstrators.

The protestors afterwards went to the parliament building and handed in a petition to the speaker, Jozef Zych. The parliament was in plenary session to discuss the social situation in Poland.

30 Hurt in 26 May Clashes

LD2605181895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 26 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Thirty people, including 10 policemen, were injured in clashes during the demonstration by Silesia-Dabrowa Solidarity outside the Office of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw today.

At the Interior Ministry hospital in Wolowskiej Street, it was reported that one of the policemen has an injury to the windpipe and has had to be operated on, and the other is in the neurosurgical department with a head injury. [passage omitted]

Clashes Spur Council Session

LD2605163595 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1613 GMT 26 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 26 May—The demonstration by the Board of Silesia-Dabrowa Region Solidarity in front of the parliament building ended at 1800 today after the singing of the national anthem.

After a conversation with Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych, Marek Kempski, Silesia-Dabrowa regional chairman, told the demonstrators that an extraordinary meeting of

the Council of Ministers will be held tomorrow at which Silesian issues will be addressed.

Government Discusses Demonstrations

LD2705122895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 27 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The government, at an extraordinary meeting attended by Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych, is discussing the situation in Silesia and the effects of yesterday's Solidarity demonstration in Warsaw.

After the meeting, Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski said that the state's basic interests must be defended, regardless of the composition of the government or its origin. In his opinion, the police behaved with restraint yesterday, to the limits of patience, in the face of aggression by some of the demonstrators.

When asked whether action would be taken against the demonstrators, Milczanowski said that this question was under the Justice Ministry's jurisdiction. According to Milczanowski, yesterday's demonstration lost its legality after the law was broken by some demonstrators.

When asked about the violation of the immunity of some Sejm deputies from the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the minister said that deputies must not, when they join in a demonstration, try to give orders to the police, who are defending law and order.

The minister added that he regretted that Poland has suffered from the lack of an executive authority since the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki. This can be seen on various planes of the fight against crime and social pathology.

Interior Minister on Clashes

LD2705000995 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1845 GMT 26 May 95

[Statement by Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski to the Sejm—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Speaker: May it please the house. I would like to present a report on the state of public order in Warsaw on 26 May 1995.

On 24 May 1995 the provincial governor of Warsaw, in response to an application from the Silesia-Dabrowa regional administration of the NSZZ [Independent Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity, issued consent for a procession by the participants in a demonstration on 26 May between the hours of 1230 and 1600 along the following route: Lazienkowska Street, which is where the coaches were parked, and then Mysliwiecka Street, Agrykola, and Aleje Ujazdowskie. The consent stipulated that the organizers of the demonstration should

be responsible for ensuring safety of the participants and the public by setting up their own duly identified marshalling services, and also that they would bear full responsibility for any damage caused in the course of the procession.

The provincial governor also ordered in the consent that during the demonstration there should be no activities which could represent threats to property as a result of objects being thrown, the use of sharp or dangerous implements, starting fires, or other activities which could threaten people's lives or health.

I would like to point out that on the 25th of this month the chief police commander and the metropolitan police commander issued public appeals for calm and dignified behavior by the participants in the demonstration, emphasizing their willingness to ensure the safety of both the participants in the demonstration and the residents of the city. The reason for these appeals were statements by, among others, Messrs. Marek Kepski, Adam Glapinski, and Zygmunt Wrzodak who, generally speaking, had declared that the demonstration could have a violent nature. As the police had started to get increasingly frequent reports about the envisaged violent nature of the demonstration, on the night of 25-26 May it was decided as a matter of urgency to summon to Warsaw police reinforcements from some neighboring provinces. These arrived in Warsaw early this morning.

I shall now recount the course of the events, if I may. At about 1300 the demonstrators set off toward the Council of Ministers Office [URM] from the meeting point which was at Torwar stadium. According to our estimates the demonstrators numbered about 7,000. The organizers of the demonstrations had been instructed by the mayor of Warsaw to observe strictly the conditions which applied to the assembly, that is, abstention from activities which could threaten life, health or property. At about 1400 the participants in the demonstration arrived in front of the URM where they were joined by about 500 demonstrating employees of Ursus [tractor works].

Initially the demonstration proceeded peacefully. At about 1420 the demonstrators began to cut the ropes which reinforced the crowd control barriers and also started attempts to break through the crowd control barriers, at the same time throwing directly at the policemen objects such as metal bolts, thunderflashes, lengths of wood, burning rubber footwear, and bottles.

I am not doing this merely for effect, but just as an illustration I would like to show the house some of the objects used during the demonstration by its participants. This is a length of chain which weighs more than half a kilogram. These kinds of things were

thrown at the policemen. Also things such as these. Here is another length of chain. Here is a bolt. Here is another. Here are some of these accessories. I would like to say that we have secured a great many of these things and we can make them available for viewing at any time. In any case, we are not the only ones who have these.

Although—I have to concede this—the organizers' marshalling service tried to persuade the demonstrators to preserve peace, regrettably this proved futile. At this time police messages to the demonstrators to cease the activities I have described were broadcast over public address systems. At the same time a warning was issued that the authority to assemble could be withdrawn should the attacks continue. Furthermore, the message was broadcast to the demonstrators over police radio that a demonstrators' delegation could be received inside the URM building by three ministers representing the government.

At about 1445 in a situation of—and I have no misgivings about using this word—an assault on the building of the Council of Ministers Office, when two lines of crowd control barriers were broken through, when police lines were broken through, and when a direct assault was taking place on the front door of the office, the officer commanding the close formations, in consultation with the metropolitan police commander and in view of the need to restore the grossly violated public order, ordered the use of direct force, that is, of truncheons and a water cannon vehicle.

At this time the operations undertaken and the resources applied stopped the aggressive actions by the demonstrators. Consequently the police stopped using direct force. In view of this development of the situation another proposal to receive a demonstrators' delegation by a deputy prime minister and a request to refrain from aggressive actions was conveyed to the demonstrators over police radio. Regrettably this did not produce an appropriate reaction.

Next the demonstrators moved towards Na Rozdrozu Square. A police line, supported by three water cannon vehicles, was deployed before them. But the demonstrators made another attempt to break through the line. The attempt failed. The police remained in position.

At about 1500, as a result of, let's say, the failure to break through the line toward the Council of Ministers Office, the demonstrators went toward Na Rozdrozu Square, broke through the police line there, and began to move toward Piekna Street. At this time several people, loudly citing parliamentary immunity and showing various documents, managed to make their way towards the water cannon vehicles. These people prevented the movement of the water cannon vehicles by sitting on

the vehicles' front bumpers. That directly halted the progress of the police forces which were following the moving demonstrators. The people who were blocking the movement of the water cannon vehicles were moved away from the vehicles by policemen which enabled the vehicles to move.

At about 1530 the demonstrators appeared in the vicinity of the Sejm building. At about 1540 a demonstrators' delegation entered the Sejm building, leaving after 15 minutes. At about 1605 Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych, accompanied by a group of deputies, came out to speak to the gathering. At about 1620, in groups of various sizes, the demonstrators set off toward Torwar, that is, the area where the coaches were parked. At that time about 1,500 participants in the demonstration remained outside the Sejm.

At about 1635 one of the deputies took a group of about a dozen participants in the demonstration inside the Sejm building. That group remained in the Sejm for about 40 minutes. After the group emerged and met the remaining demonstrators, the participants in the demonstration began to shout slogans and sang the anthem.

At about 1800 the demonstrators began to disperse finally, moving rapidly toward Torwar.

As far as other events are concerned, I would like to recall that irrespective of the demonstration which was in progress, a group of about 100 people from Ursus threw thunderflashes at passing vehicles in the vicinity of the Forum Hotel. It was one of the groups which left the site of the demonstration earlier. Another group, of about 15, entered the Ministry of Agriculture building and occupied it. But they behaved peacefully inside the building. I should add that they left the building some time later.

May it please the house. As far as the issue of the progress of the events is concerned then both the independent mass media and the resources which we have in this respect record in detail—and we can present this record at any time—the progress of the demonstration, who violated the law and who was the aggressive side.

As far as the outcome is concerned, we have the injured policemen: one in serious condition after trachea surgery, two are in neurosurgery with head injuries, 11 underwent hospital casualty treatment, and 10 were given medical assistance at the scene. As far as injured, or should I rather say wronged, demonstrators are concerned, according to our intelligence four people were given hospital casualty treatment, one was hospitalized,

while at the hospital in Stepinska Street, one persons underwent casualty treatment and one was kept for observation. Obviously I am aware that this information could be incomplete. I shall only be able to present complete information about the outcome in this respect tomorrow. The same goes in respect of the damage caused.

May it please the house. I saw, I was one of the people who saw, the effects of the demonstrators' actions at the Council of Ministers Office. I was not the only one. As far as I know, some of the deputies and some of the senators also saw these effects.

I would furthermore like to say with full conviction that the actions of the police were entirely within the law. Furthermore, the police actions were taken on the basis of reasonable grounds for defense, defense from aggressive attacks against officers and against state facilities. I would like to emphasize that the exceptionally aggressive behavior by some of the people taking part in the demonstration forced the police to take defensive action.

I would like to say clearly that no one is allowed to go beyond certain limits, either now or in the future. Consequently I declare that in the event of violations of the law by anyone the police will take actions which constitute a part of its basic duties. At the same time I would like to express my sincere hope that common sense will prevail. We do have forms of protest available under the provisions of the law. Anyone who violates these has to bear in mind the legal consequences of their actions. I appeal once again for control of feelings. Thank you very much. [applause]

President Walesa Supports Trade Unionists

LD2705123995 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 27 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa spoke today on the telephone to Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski about the situation in the country. During a meeting with Polish journalists in Keszthely on Lake Balaton in Hungary, where he is taking part in a meeting of Central European state president, Walesa said that he had declared his support for the trade unionists in resolving their conflict with the government.

[Begin recording] [Walesa] I, as a politician, know that we have no choice: either a wise compromise or a change in the political situation.

[Unidentified correspondent] You talked to Marian Krzaklewski [word indistinct] today, and you are also to meet him tomorrow.

[Walesa] I talked to the prime minister and to Krzaklewski, but it was more difficult to find Krzaklewski. He

has fewer means of communication, and that is why we did not talk until today, when we succeeded in doing so.

[Correspondent] Are the trade unionists ready for talks?

[Walesa] They must be. Everyone who thinks of Poland must be ready for talks, but wise compromises have to be found. I remember that I am a trade unionist, first and foremost, and president. So I said that with regard to the matters that are worrying them. Then I am in solidarity here. With regard to the methods, however, we must use such methods as will not set the Polish house on fire. We cannot talk like that, but I do not know how it happened, because these can only be the consequences of somebody's behavior. We must all be circumspect. Government incompetence, certainly, and failure to talk to people: What kind of left-wing government is it that says it will not talk to the employees? That is absurd. It must talk, even in order to tell them they are wrong. There will be a solution. Either these people, or others, or else I will solve it. [end recording]

Walesa Meets Solidarity Leader in Katowice

LD2805142595 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1141 GMT 28 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Katowice, 28 May—President Lech Walesa, who is taking part in a working people's pilgrimage in Piekary Slaskie as a private individual, today met with Marian Krzaklewski, chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity (NSZZ). The meeting was also attended by representatives of parliament and the church hierarchy. The meeting was closed to the press.

Krzaklewski Comments on Talks

LD2805162495 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1339 GMT 28 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Katowice, 28 May—After today's 20-minute "private talks" between President Lech Walesa and Solidarity Leader Marian Krzaklewski in Piekary Slaskie, Presidential Spokesman Leszek Spalinski said that it was a "sincere, honest, tough, and matter-of-fact conversation." Lech Walesa did not meet journalists.

According to Krzaklewski, Walesa said that "he very strongly put to Mr. Oleksy the issue of negotiation on specific demands and that this has been settled to some extent." According to Krzaklewski, "it is not certain whether this government is capable of resolving the demands in accordance with Solidarity claims." "I wonder if this government is not interested above all in weakening the Solidarity camp. We were talking about chances for stability in the country," Krzaklewski said.

The Solidarity leader added that, in his view, there should be bilateral meetings between government and union experts before proper negotiation with Prime Minister Oleksy, so only concrete issues can be discussed then.

Oleksy Offers To Meet Trade Union Leaders

LD2705140595 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1300 GMT 27 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Government spokeswoman Aleksandra Jakubowska reports that the Council of Ministers, attended by Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych, at its meeting today heard a report on the course and effects of the recent protest actions. According to a communique, the ministers discussed the restructuring of industry, including the mining industry, and problems in the budget sphere. The government also was briefed on the work in the Tripartite Commission [made up of representatives of the government, the employers, and the trade unions] for socioeconomic affairs, and on the results of the negotiations on social issues.

After hearing the Sejm speaker read out the demands of the demonstrating trade unionists, individual ministers reported on which of the demands has been implemented, which are being implemented, and which need to be tackled. The government made the assessment that all of the demands can be discussed in existing negotiating institutions.

At a news conference after the cabinet meeting, Premier Jozef Oleksy said the government is worried by the development of the situation. He stressed that the Council of Ministers takes the position that Poland's affairs can be resolved calmly and in harmony. He called for a stop to demonstrations and for consultations. Jozef Oleksy repeated that he is ready to meet the trade union leaders next week. The government expressed regret that people were hurt during yesterday's demonstration in Warsaw.

Comments on Miners' Demands

LD2705160895 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1235 GMT 27 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 27 May—At a news conference after today's government meeting, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said: "This government's origins incline it toward extraordinary moderation and leniency, so it is painful to listen to accusations of arrogance. I am sorry that the demonstrators did not want to meet Minister Marek Borowski, who was waiting for them yesterday at the Office of the Council of Ministers."

"The government, together with Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych, today reviewed the situation in connection with

Friday's and earlier demonstrations and heard the demands passed on by Speaker Zych. It also accepted in its entirety the report by Interior Minister Andrzej Milczawski on yesterday's police actions," Oleksy said.

"The government takes the position that Poland's affairs can be resolved in calmness and in harmony. I express regret that many demonstrators did not know that some of the demands put forward were met long ago (e.g. abolition of the excess wages tax) and that the majority are being examined by the government. In Silesia, working groups are already in operation under the auspices of the Katowice provincial governor, working on solutions to the region's problems," the prime minister added.

"I call for a stop to demonstrations and for consultations. I announce that I want to meet the trade union leaders already next week," Oleksy said. "Ministers have been put under the obligation to look at the efficiency of action of central administrative bodies in order to eliminate the slowness of civil servants. I fear, however, that political interests, of which the majority of demonstrators are unaware, are behind the protest actions," the prime minister added.

When asked about yesterday's conversation with the president, Oleksy replied that he briefed Lech Walesa about the situation. "We shared a common worry. I understood the call to resign as a joint one for all those in government," the prime minister said.

Walesa: Oleksy Must Talk to Strikers or Resign

LD2605194195 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 26 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa, who is at a meeting of central European heads of state in Keszthely in Hungary, has commented on today's events in Warsaw. He said that Prime Minister Oleksy's government will have to enter into talks with the strikers or else resign. Our correspondent Anna [name indistinct] reports from Keszthely:

[Correspondent] President Walesa said that the current trade union protests were predicted long ago, and were bound to happen. After all, the election campaign was conducted under the slogans that it will not be like it was, and this coalition is doing the same thing, or even worse, Lech Walesa said. In the president's opinion, Prime Minister Oleksy's government will either have to start talks with the strikers or else it will be forced to resign. It is a question of time. They will either have to change their plan, or else leave the battlefield, Lech Walesa said. When asked whether he would urge Prime Minister Oleksy to talk to the strikers, the president

replied, and I quote: Prime Minister Oleksy has no choice, unless he does not want to be prime minister.

Urged To Find Compromise

LD3005112495 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1043 GMT 30 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 30 May—After today's meeting between President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy, Presidential Spokesman Leszek Spalinski told PAP correspondents that the meeting was devoted to an assessment of the current situation in the country after a recent wave of demonstrations.

The president urges the prime minister to reach a compromise and to talk, "with everyone who wants to talk." The prime minister is to meet trade union leaders on Friday 2 June.

Spalinski announced that the president is to go to Bialystok on 5 June. He is going to meet Solidarity activists and answer questions from local radio listeners.

Oleksy Seeks Walesa Meeting To Discuss Unrest

LD2905134195 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1147 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 29 May (PAP)—According to Government spokesperson Aleksandra Jakubowska, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy would like to convey to the president complete information about how unionists' demands are being implemented and about negotiations with them by officials of the ministries concerned. In her view, such information has not reached the Presidential Chancellery, and Lech Walesa's statements show this.

"The prime minister said that he would like to talk to the president, but neither a date nor a place has been decided upon, and it is still not known whether this will be a conversation on the telephone or a private meeting," she added.

The spokesperson denied that the government has promised bilateral talks with Solidarity. Oleksy wants to meet the leaders of all trade union organizations and an extraordinary meeting of the Tripartite Commission [government, employers, trade unions] would be a proper place for this. However, the prime minister does not rule out that a bilateral meeting will take place for the good of the matter.

Asked to comment on a motion submitted by Witold Grabos, a member of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council, to Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko for the dismissal of the TVP SA [Polish Television stock company] Supervisory Board, Jakubowska said that she knew nothing about this motion and about

intentions to dismiss the Board. A general meeting of the TVP SA is to be held tomorrow.

Solidarity Leader Threatens More Strikes

LD2605152495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program
Network in Polish 1400 GMT 26 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Clashes have taken place in front of the buildings of the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM] between the police and demonstrating trade unionists from Silesia-Dabrowa Solidarity, who threw eggs, percussion grenades, and lumps of coal at the buildings. The police used batons, tear gas, and water cannon. The Police Main Command reports that two policemen have been badly hurt.

The police attack ensued after a speech by Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski. The Solidarity leader said that early parliamentary elections are required. He announced that a week of strikes would be organized and warned the government not to joke with workers from Silesia. [passage omitted]

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] In front of the URM buildings, the striking trade unionists, who were joined by the work force of the Ursus tractor plant and arms industry workers, armed with sticks, threw percussion grenades, eggs, and containers of red paint at the building. Tires were set on fire. Abuse was hurled, such as: red vermin, thieves, commies out. The forces of law and order fired water cannon. People were wounded. Police on horseback also appeared.

Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski began the picket, which started after 1400 [1200 GMT], with the singing of the national anthem. He called the authorities suicidal. He said there would have been no strike if the decision had been made to talk about Solidarity. The authorities are rejecting solutions with Solidarity out of hatred. He announced that if decisions are not made today regarding the postulates of the Silesian-Dabrowa Region [of Solidarity], the authorities will have to surrender their sinecures. Be tough, do not spare any words, if need be Solidarity will apply the pressure, Krzaklewski called out. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Deputy Premier Grzegorz Kolodko stressed that the government is ready for negotiations with the protestors, but he said there will be no talks out on the streets. [passage omitted]

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] I wish to add that 15 minutes ago a miners' delegation entered the Sejm building and is holding talks with Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych. They have brought a petition with them about the

restructuring of Silesia. This is what they want to talk about. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Strikes Planned for 31 May, 1 Jun

WS3005105595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 30 May 95 p 2

[Article by "AGA, KOW, WR": "A Week of Unionist Protests; The Plan for a Grand Battle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Trade unionists from the Gdansk chapter of Solidarity will come to Warsaw on 31 May and 1 June to hold pickets of metallurgy plant employees and the public sector in front of the Ministries of Privatization, Industry, and Finance. Lower Silesian Solidarity is to send some 300 people to Warsaw on 1 June.

Tomasz Wojcik, head of the Lower Silesian chapter: "We are armed only with banners, flags, and arguments. We want to convince the public opinion that we are right."

Deputy head of the Gdansk chapter Ryszard Sciubidlo: "The pickets will be held only to initiate talks with the government and implement earlier agreements. The unionists do not want to fight, but they will defend themselves if attacked."

At the Miechowice coal mine in Bytom, the Polish Coal Miners' Trade Union planned to welcome Solidarity Caiman Marian Krzaklewski by throwing eggs at him during his Monday visit. The trade union blames Solidarity for remembering about miners only during election campaigns. The coal mine's Solidarity found out about the planned egg throwing and called the police. The head of Solidarity presented four issues to be provided for in the new constitution: a profamily tax system, enfranchisement, a bill on health insurance, and a social security plan. If they are not taken into consideration, he said, on 8 June the trade union will pass a decision on "joining the grand battle." "Several hundred plants may go on strike in September."

'Creeping' Arms Industry Strike Continues

WS3005115895 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 30 May 95 p 3

[Article by "KLIM": "Creeping Strike in the Arms Industry; Protest at Bumar-Labedy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An eight-hour strike was held yesterday at the Bumar-Labedy Mechanical Plant in Gliwice. Half of the staff supported the Solidarity arms industry protest. A creeping strike [strajk pelzajacy] has been going on since 9 May, with some 30 plants involved nationwide.

The trade union is demanding the restructuring of the arms industry, adapting it to civilian production. Head of the plant's Solidarity union, Franciszek Szwarc, had this to say: "The plan for restructuring the arms industry boils down to layoffs. Over the last four years, 60 percent of the workforce left Bumar. The salaries of those who have remained are decreasing." The Solidarity Arms Industry Council is to decide in Skarzysko-Kamienna on Friday what further action should be taken. Szwarc does not rule out the possibility of a general strike.

Ursus Plant Suspends Strike Until 19 Jun

LD2905145695 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1435 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 29 May—The strike committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity of the Ursus tractor plant in Warsaw has suspended its industrial action from today until 19 June this year. An agreement with the government appointed administrator was signed, according to Zygmunt Wrzodak, the strike committee chairman, after a meeting of the committee on Monday.

Sejm Backs Government View of Ursus Conflict

LD2605161195 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1536 GMT 26 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 26 May—This afternoon, the Sejm accepted the government report on the causes and scale of employee conflicts, with special reference to the "Ursus" engineering works, and on the means by which the government intends to resolve these problems. Two hundred and two deputies voted to accept the report, 87 voted against it, and 12 abstained.

Oleksy: No Role for Special Services in Election

LD2905144695 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1155 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 29 May—Leaving a meeting of the Ministry of Internal Affairs political advisory committee [MSW], Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said today that the "view is taking shape that the special services have no special role to play during the presidential campaign as regards candidates, apart from extreme and important situations."

Asked by journalists whether he was given an assurance that the special services did not have Polish politicians under surveillance, the prime minister said that he was still examining MSW materials on the matter. At the same time he added that he had no evidence supporting this theory.

The prime minister admitted that during the committee meeting Friday's Solidarity demonstration in Warsaw had also been discussed. "We are of the opinion that the police acted within the law, but it does not rule out that various incidents could have happened, which should be explained," Oleksy said. A committee member Krzysztof Kozlowski told journalists that the discussion on this issue was sharp.

The advisory committee, which includes representatives of the major political forces, is still deliberating.

UOP Head Stays in Office Despite SLD Motion

WS3005104795 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 30 May 95 p 4

[Article by "JACH, KES": "The SLD Wants Czempinski Dismissed. The UOP Head Stays; UOP as a Psychiatrist"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We have learned from unofficial sources that at an extraordinary session of the Political Advisory Committee attached to the Minister of Internal Affairs held yesterday, Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] Deputy Zbigniew Siemiatkowski demanded that head of the Office of State Protection [UOP] Gromoslaw Czempinski be dismissed.

SLD claims that the close acquaintance of the UOP head with [Belvedere] Minister Mieczyslaw Wachowski does not guarantee the impartiality of the secret services in the presidential campaign. Siemiatkowski claimed that Czempinski (who was present at the meeting) has no control over UOP; he allows his employees to pass on information to politicians illicitly.

Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski and Krzysztof Kozlowski (Freedom Union) defended Czempinski. The majority of advisers to the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] did not support Siemiatkowski—Czempinski will keep his office.

The session of the committee (comprised of politicians representing the largest parties) was called at the motion of three of its members following an article published by NIE. The weekly reported that UOP illegally surveils SLD politicians. Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy then demanded an explanation from the head of MSW.

Microfilms on Miller and Kwasniewski

We have unofficially learned that the prime minister was handed a written report yesterday on the surveillance of SLD politicians carried out by UOP in 1991 and subsequent years. Committee members were presented with a report explaining how microfilms were prepared on operations against [current Labor Minister] Leszek Miller, who was suspected at the time of involvement

in the illegal loan of CPSU money to the Polish United Workers Party, and Aleksander Kwasniewski, who was not officially included in investigations. "I had the impression everything was legal back then," Michal Janiszewski (Confederation for an Independent Poland) told us after the meeting. "Milczanowski stated that those materials will never be used." [passage omitted]

UOP Surveillance Allegations Denied

LD2905231895 Warsaw Third Program Radio
Network in Polish 2200 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] The press spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has denied the report given by the main edition of the "Wiadomosci" program today, which cited a statement by Deputy Tadeusz Kowalczyk to the effect that, during the meeting of the Advisory Committee attached to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy confirmed rumors about the surveillance of a number of politicians by the State Protection Office [UOP].

[Begin unidentified voice recording] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said that the UOP did not transgress the law that is in force in its activities. In the communique of the Political Advisory Committee its members said I quote, that they listened with attention and clear-sightedness to the explanations of the minister of internal affairs and of the head of the UOP, and that they do not find causes for unease and fears in association with the work of the UOP. [end recording]

[Announcer] The guest of the evening edition of "Wiadomosci," Deputy Tadeusz Kowalczyk, member of the Political Advisory Committee attached to the Minister of Internal Affairs, denied the report given in the main edition of "Wiadomosci" program. On the other hand, he confirmed that in the past politicians were under surveillance.

[Begin Kowalczyk recording] I know that in 1991 all parliamentarians were, at the decision of the minister, checked. All parliamentarians, all candidates for parliament in 1991. There are many temptations for this coalition or else for people who are in opposition to this coalition to seek this, through their own people—for it cannot be denied, if only in the case of the revelation of Instruction 0015 or the last leak, which transpired through microfilms about certain politicians, microfilms that have in a certain sense been confirmed [sentence as heard]. This witnesses to the fact that various political groupings and political interests have a direct access to the UOP. [end recording]

Sejm Dismisses Head of Supreme Chamber of Control

LD2605174595 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1529 GMT 26 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 26 May—On Friday afternoon the Sejm dismissed Lech Kaczynski from the office of chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control. A resolution to this effect received the votes of 204 deputies, with 85 against, and 10 abstentions.

Deputy Speaker Olga Krzyzanowska, who was chairing the proceedings, thanked Kaczynski on behalf of the Sejm presidium for the "years of his work."

Criminal Gangs Expanding Activities, Contacts

95EP0097A Poznan WPROST in Polish 2 Apr 95
No 14, pp 28-29

[Article by Zdzislaw Zarski: "All or Nothing: What the Polish Gangs Are Fighting For"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "In Poland we already have the rudiments of mafia structures," admitted recently Anrzej Milczanowski, minister of internal affairs, who is normally very restrained in his comments.

On 21 March at the Zabki Cemetery near Warsaw Czeslaw K. was buried, whose life was cut short by the explosion of a deliberately planted bombing device. The perpetrators were not found. As known, there is a war on between Warsaw gangs. An accidentally exploding charge killed two men suspected of belonging to a Lublin gang. Who will be next?

The exploding bombs mean not just the settling of accounts for unpaid debts or for disloyalty between gangs; they mean above all a struggle for big bucks, for much more money than that which the criminal world had earned in the late 1980's and early 1990's, owing to the smuggling of alcohol and illegal vodka manufacturing. Most of the fortunes then made were exchanged for luxury cars and villas. Those who had "invested" the money then earned nowadays control the criminal world.

The individuals until now active in the so-called underground economy are increasingly often trying to invest their funds in legal enterprises. To avoid attention from law enforcement agencies, they assign this task to gangs. Criminal groups themselves also are beginning to establish contact with the underground economy.

The gangs are expanding the scope of their activities. In addition to their illegal manufacture of alcohol, smuggling of spirituous beverages and cigarettes and electronic products, theft and smuggling of automobiles, and control of personal escort services, they are beginning

to invest their money in privatized enterprises and organize pawnshops, on a scale of billions of new zlotys.

Polish gangs are establishing contacts with big foreign criminal groups, e.g., in Italy, Colombia, Germany, and the former USSR. The police and the Office for State Protection increasingly often are discovering evidence of large-scale drug smuggling and illegal arms trafficking.

How the Loot Is Shared

Pruszkow Gang: After its merger with the so-called Ozarow Gang it has become the biggest Polish gang. Despite the arrests of its leaders, who bear such nicknames as Pershing, Dziki, and Malolat, and the death of Dzik, it has lost little in importance. This gang handles alcohol smuggling, illegal manufacture of vodka, smuggling and theft of automobiles, collecting protection money, and extortion. It controls personal escort services, burglarizes wholesale warehouses, and holds up TIR [Transport International Routier] trucks. Its members also commit common crimes and rapes. Many of them do drugs. Recently this gang has begun to organize laboratories for producing amphetamines. It participates in large-scale transfers of drugs belonging to the Colombian cartel.

Tansfer Gang of Poznan: While in Germany, the leader of that gang illegally accumulated a fortune. Now he is transferring funds to Poland and laundering them by, e.g., purchasing shares in privatized state enterprises. The gang continues to engage in large-scale smuggling of, chiefly, electronic products.

Sandokan Gang of Upper Silesia: Its leader was detained several months ago, but the gang continues to operate; its organizers are at liberty. It is identified with certain members of the so-called Center Club in Gliwice. The gang engages in robbery and extortion, control of personal escort services, and coercion of false testimony.

Wolomin Gang: This is an informal association of 15 or so smaller gangs. Their domain is illegal production of and trade in alcohol, smuggling, theft and "legalization" of stolen automobiles, kidnapping for ransom, collection of protection money, control of personal escort services, manufacture and distribution of counterfeit currency and forged securities and documents, and speculation in real estate.

Dzionek Gang of Lublin: It steals automobiles, smuggles them abroad, and collects protection money. Recently it has started the manufacture and smuggling of amphetamines. It is linked to Warsaw gangs.

Nikosia Gang of Gdynia-Gdansk-Sopot: It engages in the theft, smuggling, and "legalization" of stolen automobiles.

"Szwarceneger" [Schwarzenegger] Gang: It operates nationwide, but most of its members live in the Gdynia-Gdansk-Sopot Tricity. Several years ago it used to be part of the Nikosia Gang. It engages in the theft and smuggling of automobiles, kidnapping for ransom, enforced collection of debts, and killing for hire. For some time now it has been suspected of drug smuggling.

Siwy Gang of Rzeszow (it also operates in Przemyśl): It continues the criminal traditions of the prewar Lwow. It is linked to criminals from the East, chiefly from Ukraine. In Ukraine protection money is collected from Polish businessmen visiting there, and in Poland, from Ukrainians. The gang performs illegal currency transfers and organizes large-scale smuggling of goods.

Yugoslavia Gang of Krakow: Led by gangsters from the former Yugoslavia, chiefly Albanians from Kosovo. Its members include many nationalities. It collaborates with segments of Colombian drug cartels.

Wschod [East] Gang of Czestochowa: It consists chiefly of the Vietnamese staying in Poland. It organizes smuggling and controls Vietnamese trade in Poland. It is linked to similar gangs operating in West Europe.

Wiosna Gang of Gdansk: Organizes large-scale smuggling.

Mr. C's Gang of Wloclawek: It controls personal escort services, engages in extortion, and steals and smuggles motor vehicles.

Marszalek Gang of Ostroleka: One of the biggest Polish gangs engaging in so-called murder-for-hire and acting as enforcers in debt collection. It also steals cars and extorts ransoms from their owners.

Lubusk Gang of Zielona Gora and Gorzow Wielkopolski: It deals in so-called live merchandise by supplying and/or exchanging for cars young girls to German brothels, personal escort services, and massage salons.

Opal Gang of Wroclaw: Engages in large-scale finagling of coal from mines.

Ministers Sign Protocol, View NATO Raid

AU2705172795 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 26 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Romania's Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu held a new round of talks today with his Czech counterpart Josef Zieleniec. The two ministers signed a protocol on the accords between Romania and Czechoslovakia that were valid on 31 December 1992. On this occasion the sides emphasized the joint interest of the two countries for integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic structures.

Mr. Zieleniec reiterated his satisfaction with the way in which the Czech minority is treated in Romania and noted that our country enjoys political stability and that this is a very important factor for relations in this region. As regards the prospect of Romania's joining the Visegrad group, the Czech foreign minister said that when our country signs the free trade accord with all the countries of the respective group, it will automatically become a member of this group.

At the end of the talks, a meeting was held with the representatives of the press. On this occasion, the two foreign ministers expressed their opinions regarding the NATO air raids that took place yesterday against Serb positions in the zone around Sarajevo. They noted that the raids took place after the armistice was violated and after a very serious warning issued by the UN special envoy in the former Yugoslavia. The two diplomats assessed the raids as a way in which the international community wishes to make the warring sides halt military confrontations and start seeking peaceful solutions.

HDUR Congress Under Way in Cluj-Napoca

LD2705184095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 27 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] It is the issue of autonomy for the Hungarian minority in Romania which divides, above all, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR; in Romanian, UDMR] into more radical or more moderate groups. This became clear on the second day of the congress of the Hungarian Party of Transylvania [Erdely]. Peter Marvany reports from Cluj-Napoca [Kolozsvár].

[Marvany] What is happening in Cluj-Napoca now is perhaps more important in the long run than the election of the chairman, which is expected to take place late tonight or perhaps in the dawn hours tomorrow. The delegates are debating the party's draft program, including the autonomy issue. It is precisely the autonomy issue that brings out the real political conflicts within the HDUR.

Adam Katona took a position in support of autonomy on three levels, while Sandor Szilagyi pleaded with the congress not to force the HDUR onto a one-directional track by deciding that three-dimensional autonomy should be the only acceptable program.

Nandor Magyari warned against the division of Romania's Hungarians into the so-called bloc-Hungarians who would enjoy special rights and diaspora-Hungarians, who have no such rights.

Lazar Madaras proposed that the congress consider the autonomy concept in view of today's realities in Romania. Geza Borsos said that the Hungarians of the Szekler lands wanted to enjoy territorial autonomy rights.

The congress adopted a text that does not contain the phrase three-dimensional autonomy, only territorial autonomy.

Congress Adopts Autonomy Concept

AU2705200795 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 27 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The program of the second day of the Fourth Congress of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], which is taking place in Cluj-Napoca, included the adoption of important documents, the election of the UDMR president, and the appointment of the candidates for the election of the Council of UDMR Representatives.

After long debates on the concept of Hungarian minority in Romania, the participants agreed by vote to term this concept differently, namely the autonomous Hungarian national community; this term will be included in all UDMR program documents.

Regarding the autonomy principle, the discussions were also long and contradictory, with the Congress adopting the third variant proposed, which stipulates that autonomy with special status is the right of those individuals belonging to the Hungarian community, who represent the majority of the population in a given area.

Shortly before 2100 hours, the Congress proceedings were interrupted for dinner, after which discussions will be resumed later in the night, our correspondent Teodor Mateescu reports.

Tokes Addresses Congress

LD2705223195 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 2005 GMT 27 May 95

[Speech by Laszlo Tokes, honorary chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (HDUR), at

the fourth HDUR congress in Cluj-Napoca on 27 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Esteemed Congress: [passage omitted] Many people say that the HDUR has perfectionist [maximalista] autonomy endeavors. In my view, the question is put the wrong way round. Let me give a simple example: The Romanian state confiscated the bishop's palace in Oradea. We managed to gain a foothold in two or three rooms in it at the end of 1989, and litigation has been going on for five years. Obviously, it is not perfectionism to wish the possession of the whole of the bishop's palace, and people who have no faith in regaining it could say that we should be glad to have those few rooms.

Obviously, the strategic objectives of the HDUR are, to a certain degree, maximum objectives. They are perfectionists in their perspectives. However, the final and complete objectives have to be formulated, and within these, the whole range of autonomy policy and the ways and tactics of achieving this maximum goal can be debated. [passage omitted]

As I stressed yesterday, both from Bucharest and Budapest, and also from the West, pressure of various degrees is put on us in order to reduce the scale of our objectives, to compromise with our objectives and politics. It is not difficult to notice that there is quite a campaign in progress. Naturally, I do not suppose that this is a coordinated campaign; this is a natural and unconscious convergence.

It is impossible not to notice that the reason why, in Vojvodina, the Hungarian Civic Movement, which abandons the territorial autonomy concept prepared by the Association of Vojvodina Hungarians and the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians, was created in order to torpedo the Hungarian autonomy policy of Vojvodina. It is not difficult to discern that when the Hungarian Free Democratic Party of Romania announced that the HDUR's policy on the basic treaty, and especially its autonomy endeavors, are incorrect and it creates for itself an impossible and unrealistic situation by pursuing them, I quote—this was in fact an attack on us—the ruling party immediately took issue by saying that it wanted to negotiate with this party, led by a certain Kalman Kiss. [passage omitted]

The HDUR must adopt a maximum strategic autonomy endeavor—in the proper sense of the word—and it must not reduce its demands. [passage omitted]

Marko Reelected Chairman

LD2805172495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 28 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Fourth Congress of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR] has ended. Delegates have reelected Bela Marko, the incumbent chairman, for another term of office. Peter Marvanyi reports.

[Marvanyi] The polemics that have most divided the HDUR have also ended. During the debate of the case of Benedek Nagy, who had attacked the honorary president of the HDUR [Bishop Laszlo Tokes], it was the honorary president himself who proposed that the guilty man not be expelled from the HDUR because expulsion would be, in effect, equal to being excluded from one's national community. The HDUR Council of Representatives [SZKT] had earlier decided to expel him. Now, a large majority of the congress delegates voted to overturn the SZKT's decision, but stripped Benedek Nagy off all his posts in the HDUR except his membership of the HDUR group of deputies in the Romanian parliament.

There was a strange end to the story. During the last minutes of the congress somebody placed on the seats and tables some 400 copies of the incriminating letter that started the polemics in the first place.

The congress also adopted a resolution asking the U.S. Administration to influence the Bucharest government by diplomatic means, as well as by using the peaceful but effective means of customs tariffs, in order to ensure that the process of democratization is speeded up in Romania and that human and minority rights are respected. The resolution was proposed by Laszlo Tokes.

PUNR Wants Parliamentary Immunity of MP's Lifted

AU3005112895 Bucharest Radio Romania Network
in Romanian 1000 GMT 30 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Regarding the recent congress of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], which was held in Cluj-Napoca, we have received a statement from the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party], which, among other things, demands the following:

—that the UDMR be declared unconstitutional, in accordance with Article 37 of the Constitution;

—that Parliament present and discuss in June reports regarding the UDMR's activity and actions from December 1989 to the present.

—that the UDMR representatives be heard and discussed in the Chamber of Deputies and Senate so decisions may be adopted on lifting their parliamentary immunity and sending them for trial by the Supreme Court of Justice;

The PUNR statement also requests that Parliament examine and discuss the draft Romanian-Hungarian treaty, which must be reconsidered and viewed in the light of the recent UDMR congress, its goals, and Hungary's association with NATO before Romania.

The statement is signed by PUNR President Gheorghe Funar.

Ethnic Leaders on Various Forms of Autonomy

*LD2805203895 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian
1605 GMT 28 May 95*

["Weekly Courier" discussion program with HDUR (Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania) Chairman Bela Marko and HDUR honorary chairman Laszlo Tokes; presented by Zoltan Csaky—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Csaky] Who are your allies now that the HDUR [Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania; in Romanian, UDMR] has left the Democratic Convention?

[Marko] We have potential allies now. The HDUR has left the Democratic Convention, the opposition bloc that broke up anyway. The problem is not only that no alliance has come about or worked toward the achievements of certain national minority goals—which we think will be in the interests of the majority of society—but the Convention did not seem to be a permanent alliance to work for democracy in Romania.

Obviously, our potential allies are still among the Romanian parties and politicians who want democracy and realize the interdependence of these two goals. However, I think we have potential allies elsewhere, too. What is more, we already have allies. Our ally is the emerging Europe, which wants to integrate and unite, and thus it can force the Central and East European countries to give up their prevailing mentality, in our case the nation-state mentality. Our allies are there, in those international organizations, minority or party alliances, in which the HDUR has been working for more than two years. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] The congress has accepted various forms of autonomy, including the implementation of territorial autonomy.

[Marko] It has been raised at the congress that the Hungarians of Romania are living in various situations: There is a significant number of Hungarians living in

diaspora; there are those living in minority in their villages or towns; and there are Hungarian communities living in blocks, on smaller or larger areas. It is not possible to apply a single solution. We have to implement various forms of autonomy. [passage omitted] Territorial autonomy should provide as much freedom as possible for Hungarians living in blocks.

[Csaky] Do you mean the Szekler counties?

[Marko] First and foremost the Szekler...

[Csaky, interrupting] And do you want a different kind of autonomy for Hungarians living in diaspora?

[Marko] For the Hungarians in diaspora individual autonomy could be a possible solution, which overlaps cultural autonomy. [passage omitted] However, on small or large areas—for example the Szeklerland, or small areas where a great number of Hungarians are living—a particular status should be secured, a certain territorial autonomy should be created that makes it possible for these communities to govern the widest possible part of public life.

[Csaky] To what extent does the HDUR's autonomy policy enjoy support in the West? [passage omitted] Laszlo Tokes, what do you think?

[Tokes] I immediately think of Krajina in Croatia. I take it very badly that while we are subjected to rather strong Western rejections regarding our request for autonomy along ethnic lines, in Krajina the autonomous state organization of the Krajina Serbs is being established with Western participation. According to plans, even their currency will be different from the currency of Croatia.

All this means that Western countries do not practice what they preach, because while they loftily tell us that it is an aim impossible to implement, the fact of the matter is that when force is used they give in to it. [passage omitted] What the Western world should do is to favor, ensure advantages for, the forces of European stability and peacemaking. Should it do so, it will be worthwhile for us to experiment, to find solutions.

However, they push us back. It is bad enough that we face rejection at home, but it is worse that this rejection is also reinforced by the West. In fact, many times—even if willy-nilly—there has been cooperation between the Romanian majority-dominated authorities and the Western side. [passage omitted]

PD Statement Notes 'Extremist Tones' at Congress
*AU3005112995 Bucharest Radio Romania Network
in Romanian 1000 GMT 30 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Party [PD] has issued a statement in which it emphasizes that an initial assessment of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] Congress welcomes the realistic and responsible opinions expressed by many delegates who rejected the concept of territorial autonomy on ethnic grounds. At the same time, however, the PD disapproved of the extremist tones of some of the speeches made at the rostrum.

The new ambiguities introduced through the so-called autonomous national Hungarian community, as well as through an alleged special status in the area of local administration, show that the opportunities for the extremely necessary clarification were not fully taken.

The Democratic Party supports the cultural identity of minorities and their right to education in their mother tongue but is against collective rights and administrative autonomy on ethnic grounds, the statement reads in conclusion.

Ambassador Pleads for Increased Trade With Russia

*AU2905150695 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 23 May 95 p 8*

[Interview with Constantin Garbea, Romanian ambassador to Moscow, by Mihai Vicol; place and date not given: "We Are Still Doing Too Little To Regain Previously Held Positions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Vicol] Mr. Ambassador, in what fields have we concluded contracts with the Russian Federation?

[Garbea] Trade contracts are no longer concluded at the state or government level, since both countries are in a transition process to the market economy, which presupposes the demonopolization of foreign trade. Of course, one could envisage concluding big contracts for large-scale economic and trade cooperation ventures, which are guaranteed by the state, as is the practice in the developed countries. In the last instance, we are actually talking about investments. However, the Romanian entrepreneurs are still displaying reticence in this respect, despite encouragement from the official forums that are interested in reconquering the huge markets of Russia and the former Soviet space, whose loss has negatively affected many industrial enterprises. An example in this respect is the intergovernmental protocol on partial financing of the petrochemical combine in Blagoveshchensk. Although the protocol has been ap-

proved by the Romanian and Bashkir Governments, and although it is obvious that the Romanian side also stands to gain from it, our people are waiting for some kind of guarantees from the federal authorities in Moscow because of lack of trust in the loyalty of the local Bashkir authorities. However, we also have several successful projects. The best known sphere is that of construction where we finished projects worth scores of millions of U.S. dollars every year. For instance, the Romanian company ARCOM assures, through its activities in Russia, almost a quarter of the counter value of our gas imports from Russia.

[Vicol] The Romanian state has made several attempts to recover the Romanian treasure deposited in Moscow. What is the situation of our treasure there?

[Garbea] The problem of the Romanian treasure has been brought up again and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been periodically engaging itself in talks on this matter with a view to finding an appropriate solution. The difficulty is also due to the fact that no clear and complete records were kept at the time about the content of the treasure and about the objects returned to us at the end of the 1950's. We continue to insist on this matter, which is constantly on the agenda of the two foreign ministries and obviously of our embassy, too.

[Vicol] Russian generals and parliamentarians are accusing their country's leadership—and even ask for President Yeltsin's resignation—over the war in Chechnya. Would you like to comment on that?

[Garbea] Our country's official position is that we consider the conflict as an internal matter of Russia, but we deplore, like the rest of the world, the means of force used and the continuation of the military actions, which first and foremost add up to a large-scale human tragedy. As an internal problem of Russia, the solution will be found by the Moscow authorities, which must take into consideration the overall interests of the Russian Federation, and obviously by the representatives of the directly affected population of Chechnya. However, a beneficial role is also played by the ever-stronger efforts of international public opinion, which is interested in an end to the military operations in Chechnya. To this end, the collective EU interventions with the authorities in Moscow (where, as is well known, the countries with an observer status, such as Romania, were also present) have a positive impact, as the same as the interventions of the International Red Cross, the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and so forth.

[Vicol] How do you see the evolution of the relations between Ukraine and the Russian Federation?

[Garbea] This is hard to say. As far as Romania is concerned—since we are interested in stable relations of good neighborliness with both states—it would be good if Russian-Ukrainian relations develop in the right direction. As a matter of fact, there are not many controversial problems between them, but the ones that exist are basic and directly linked to the consequences of the USSR's disappearance and the consolidation of Russia and Ukraine as independent states. In rest, there are many reasons—mainly of an economic, social, and ethnic nature (there are about 12 million Russians living in Ukraine and about 7 million Ukrainians living in Russia)—to make both governments strive to overcome their current differences.

Data on 'Underground Economy' Operations

93BA0123A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian
18 Jan 95 p 6

[Article by Cristian Antonescu and Alexandru Boariu:
"A Bone Lodged in the Throat of Reform"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When Romanian intelligence chief Virgil Magureanu, during his report to parliament on the activities of his organization, revealed that the underground economy in Romania accounted for about 38 percent of the gross national product, his remarks ignited first rumors and then controversy. But then the hubbub died down and soon things were back in the same old rut. Similarly unheeded have been the warnings of Financial Court chief Ioan Bodgan, who in the press has repeatedly stated: "Breaking the law has become a national phenomenon." Anywhere else in the world, such alarms would prompt reflection on the part of Parliament, the government, the president, and other government organs responsible for the health of the economic and social environment, and for their proper functioning. They would have to take a position and they would be spurred into action. In Romania however, this perilous scourge is swept under the rug along with everything else.

First, doubt is cast on the specific numbers put forth by the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] chief. Then, the few public discussions that do take place on the issue of the underground economy are steered into the morass of abstract and sterile theory: "the issue is extremely complicated and not everyone can discuss it without the danger of arriving at false conclusions," or, "in developed countries underground economies exist; there is even a tradition of it; it proves to be a 'tough nut,' difficult to control and almost impossible to wipe out." When all else fails, concern is expressed that there could be the confusion of what goes on in an underground economy with organized criminal activity, which is something entirely different.

A Difference but Many Similarities

To a point, the two types of economy truly are different. Organized criminal structures are synonymous with gangsterism, contraband, and criminal activity for hire. They are organized into a sinister world of meticulously structured bands in an unrelenting war with one another as well as with the authorities, a world of traffickers and dirty money. In contrast, the underground economy appears to be much more benign and domesticated, and, as its very name implies, it prefers the shadows, carrying out its affairs discreetly and in obscurity, far from the curious eyes of society. Its rationale is the rapid enrichment of those who ply its trades at the expense of others and by any means. The routes taken are simple enough: fiscal fraud, black market transactions, swindles on a small scale—testimonials to the "inventiveness" of certain unscrupulous individuals who, however, are quick to take on the mantle of efficient entrepreneurs and promoters of the market economy. The two types of economies have their roots in the same intention: avoiding the law. The underground economy is, in fact, the medium that spreads organized crime, offering it favorable conditions to sprout. Thus it is not always possible to draw a clear line between the two economies. Frequently the disregard for law and society inspires the organization of shadowy groups and premeditated crime. Both are based on corruption, and they attract into their spheres of influence economic parasites, some minor and even some higher-level public officials, and, most dangerous of all, some political figures.

Ways To Circumvent the Law

As previously mentioned, there is the view that the investigation of the underground economy is an arcane science that can be mastered only by experts, and we do not have many experts in this arena. This conclusion is easy to disprove. Such caution is either terribly naive or self-serving, because the systematic inspections by the Financial Guards, the Economic Police, and the Economic Court cast a light on the subject that is as revealing as could be possible. For 11 months last year, the "harvest" of the Financial Guards was such to suggest the dimensions of the underground economy: almost 5,000 business agents fined, 700 criminal cases prepared, 33 billion lei and \$3 million confiscated. The Financial Court has been busy as well and the results of its interventions are twice that amount. The inspection carried out last July resulted in supplemental income of 228 billion lei to the state treasury and a 100-billion-lei increase to the public patrimony, and it identified losses of 70 billion lei. In one year's time, 70,000 criminal proceedings for economic reasons have been put on the docket. This is only the tip of the iceberg. Experts

believe that the losses produced by the underground economy are in the order of trillions of lei. In addition to the size of the underground economy, the investigations have revealed its "technology"—or, more specifically: the methods used. These include:

- introducing unregistered goods or the unregistered sale of goods or services.

This is the classic method for avoiding taxes on profits and is extremely widespread especially among small businessmen.

- hiring "black market" employees—employees without a contract.

Interpreting "freedom of the market economy" to suit their own purposes, wealthy patrons can confront their potential employees with a hard choice: either accept their conditions—any conditions—or choose unemployment. The dimensions of this illegal practice are so widespread that the government recently adopted a regulation in an attempt to combat it. Chances for the success of such a regulation are minimal if there is no systematic effort to assure it is being implemented

- creating parasite firms connected to public enterprises. These are firms that do nothing but siphon off resources: materials, energy, working hours, technologies, etc.

- SRL-type swindles [English equivalent of SRL is "Ltd."]

Owned by the leadership cadres of an enterprise, these firms take control of the most profitable sector of the enterprise—marketing. Their involvement within the company, and the pricing mechanisms they employ, bring these firms considerable profits that are, in fact, siphoned off from the main enterprise.

- a systematic refusal to sell shares on the stock exchange, where the true value could be established, in order to obtain personal wealth via unorthodox means.

- the payment of unowed funds in advance in exchange for hypothetical future goods or services.

A primary conclusion: the web of the underground economy extends across both the private and public sectors.

The Incoherence and Weakness of Existing Laws

In attempting to understand how the process works, experts have arrived at a common point of view. The underground economy owes its existence, on the one hand, to the incoherence that characterizes the Romanian legislative system and, on the other hand, to a lack of resolve in applying the laws. We need point out only that there are still laws, decisions, or instructions on the books that predate the revolution. Added to these are other regulations that were adopted later. Laws passed by parliament since 1989 now number over 1000, and there are government decisions by the thousands as well. At the same time, there are basic sectors of the economy for which there have been no laws written that are based on market economy principles. For example, there are no laws regarding scientific research, or regarding loyal opposition. There is no national patrimony law, nor any law with standards for the public servant. The list could go on and on. In other words, the legislative system, in its current configuration, remains incomplete and unfinalized, a labyrinth in which it becomes ever more difficult to orient oneself. This fact amounts to a helping hand for swindlers and much room for their maneuvering.

As far as the aforementioned lack of enforcement resolve is concerned, this finds its roots both in the relatively low level of organization and underfinancing of the institutions tasked to monitor adherence to the laws, and in corruption. How far the tentacles of corruption reach is known. The political powers-that-be make an enormous error when they do not draw the line clearly on the scandals of corruption about which they are well informed, and when they do not show the political will to combat and stymie this scourge regardless of the level at which it manifests itself. It is abundantly clear that this is a case where passivity proves to be extremely costly.

The Number-One Enemy of Reform

There are at least three areas for which the underground economy represents a phenomenon of great harm:

- In the economic arena

because the fiscal evasions considerably diminish income to the state budget. Important resources are withdrawn and expended elsewhere, leading to financial blockage, while at the same time, important sums of both national and hard currency are taken out of the money circulation.

- In the social arena

There is illegitimate accumulation of capital at the expense of the public patrimony and the impoverishment of a large segment of the population. The unjustified process of social polarization that is aided by the existence of the underground economy coincides most unhappily with the affirmation of a corrupt and patently antisocial way of life. However,

- The most serious, grave consequence

is that it compromises reform. Seeing the inevitability of an underground economy and its corruption, large segments of the population are well on their way to losing faith in the virtues of a market economy, as well as in the morality and authority of state institutions.

The underground economy must be treated with all seriousness. The immense damage that it does to society and its potential to degenerate at any time into organized crime are sufficient reasons for officials to move to the point of formal declarations of immediate action, wide in scope, as befits the gravity of this phenomenon. It would be an illusion to believe that the underground economy can be annihilated at once with a single blow. The war against it must be long, and it demands, instead, patience and persistence. But even more of an illusion, and even more dangerous, is the impression that the current situation can be ignored in the hope that it will resolve itself. This attitude is what the participants in the underground economy are anticipating.

Poll: 'Growing' Skepticism Toward EU Membership

AU2905162195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene in its 20 May edition on pages 1 and 4 carries a report by Slava Partljic, rounding up the results of an opinion poll on Slovene integration into the European Union.

Partljic writes that the paper conducted the poll on "the usual sample of the telephone population" on 17 and 18 May, without disclosing any additional details.

A graph on page 1 shows how the pollees would have voted had there been a referendum on EU membership on the following day. For comparison, the paper also publishes the results obtained in the June 1994 and November 1994 polls. The results of the May 1995 poll—67.8 percent in favor, 20.2 percent against, and 11.9 percent undecided—show that skepticism toward the European Union is growing. Namely, in June 1994, 78.4 percent would have voted in favor of EU membership and only 4.9 percent against it. The percentage of undecided voters, too, has shrunk from 16.7 percent in June 1994 to 11.9 percent in May 1995.

When asked whether Slovenia should nevertheless pursue EU membership, even if this would involve changing the Constitution and allowing foreigners to purchase real estate, the majority—63.0 percent—replied negatively, 22.9 percent were in favor of it, and 14.1

percent did not know. Comparison with the results of the November 1994 poll shows an almost 10-percent increase in the negative attitude, namely, 52.5 replied negatively to this same question in the November poll.

When asked whether Slovenia should return the real estate of "the Italian option-seekers," 66.7 percent replied negatively, 6 percent positively, 16.2 percent would allow a limited return, and 11.1 percent did not know.

Given the choice of eight countries that could serve as an example to Slovenia, the pollees voted overwhelmingly in favor of Switzerland (47.9 percent), followed by Germany (12.7 percent), Sweden (8.9 percent), and Austria (8.6 percent). The United States came sixth with 2.6 percent of the votes.

Pollees were also asked to assess the performance of Slovene diplomacy in the talks with the European Union. "A good half (51.5 percent) of the pollees are of the opinion that our diplomacy works well in this sphere. A little less than a quarter say that it is performing poorly, while a little more than a quarter could not or would not assess this," the reporter writes.

Among other things, pollees were also asked to air their views on free trade agreements where, according to the reporter, "a staggering 82.2 percent" of pollees would hail a free trade agreement between the United States and Slovenia.

Federal**Belgrade Radio Lauds Grachev-Kozyrev Mission**

AU2805155195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian in its 1300 GMT newscast on 28 May carries no reports that the Russian Foreign and Defense Ministries have denied Defense Minister Grachev and Foreign Minister Kozyrev's departure for the former Yugoslavia.

Belgrade Radio continues to report that the two statesmen will "at the request of President Boris Yeltsin depart immediately for the former Yugoslavia," quoting Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin.

Belgrade Radio's Moscow correspondent Jasmina Pavlovic Stamenic in her report says that the task of the two officials is "to meet with the leaders of the warring sides and try to convince them to stop the clashes and immediately sit behind the negotiating table." As she adds, "evidently" this is "a hot potato dropped in the hands of Russia following yet another failure of the international community to resolve a problem and bring somebody to heel by applying force from the air." According to her, the fact that "this is now Russia's turn" should be a reason for "relief."

Further reporting about the details of the Grachev-Kozyrev mission, Pavlovic says: "President Yeltsin, in the interest of the abatement of the situation and fearing for the fate of the blue berets, sent the chief of diplomacy and defense minister to the scene of events. Apart from the attempts to bring the warring sides to the negotiating table, Andrey Kozyrev, as we have learned, has a special assignment to undertake concrete steps in the liberation of the incarcerated members of the international peace troops, among which are also Russian soldiers. This action was agreed in the Kremlin between President Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Kozyrev after receiving initial information that the blue berets were held hostage and that the danger to their overall safety was growing. Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who will be on the same mission as Kozyrev, will probably deal with concrete issues on the ground. As we have learned, Grachev is expected to visit the positions of the Russian soldiers and participate directly in the effort to stop the clashes and liberate members of the international peace troops, especially because it has become clear after the NATO session and the closed meeting of the UN Security Council that new bombing and a special liberation action are possible, naturally, no longer by diplomatic but by military means. Currently the eyes of the world are turned precisely on Kozyrev and Grachev and the hopes, although not very great, that detained soldiers be freed are placed in the outcome

of their mission," Pavlovic explains. She adds that "the [Russian] Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its latest statement warned that further escalation of the situation could raise the question of the Russian contingent's stay in Bosnia."

Russian Envoy Views Bosnian Crisis Situation**Stresses Present Dangers**

LD2905180895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1722 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)—Aleksandr Zotov, the Russian president's special envoy to the Contact Group, arrived in Belgrade this afternoon. Immediately upon his arrival Zotov said that there is a real danger of the current conflict in Bosnia turning into an international military conflict in which international forces will not act as observers but as participants in military operations.

Zotov visited Belgrade last week. In this connection he was asked today whether he is coming from Moscow "with something concrete."

"Russia does not have a magical plan for a resolution of the crisis, but believes that a solution must be sought," Zotov said.

As he said, this is the reason for his visit to Belgrade. Asked with whom he will have talks in Belgrade, he declined to answer, but recalled his meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic last week.

"In any case, Moscow is very worried because of the newly created situation in Bosnia and therefore I have come, ahead of the ministerial meeting of the Contact Group in The Hague and a NATO meeting in Noordwijk tomorrow. I will inform Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev about my talks in Belgrade," Zotov said.

The Russian president's envoy did not specify how he will inform his minister, but the possibility of him leaving for The Hague this evening has been ruled out.

In conclusion Zotov said that the role of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in searching for the solution to the crisis is very important.

Calls Bosnian Serb Actions Extreme

AU2905200095 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 May 95

[Video report on news conference by Aleksandr Zotov, Russian representative in the Contact Group; at Belgrade airport on 29 May; recorded—Zotov and uniden-

tified reporters speak in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation]

[Reporter] What is the aim of your meeting with President Milosevic?

[Zotov] As you know, I had been here three or four days ago, last week, that is. We are therefore continuing our contacts particularly on the eve of the ministerial meeting in the Netherlands that will most probably begin this evening and will be continued in a few days.

[Reporter] What is the Russian stand in the Contact Group now regarding sanctions against Yugoslavia?

[Zotov] We in the Contact Group do believe that the regime of the change in the sanctions should be introduced and that, due to the stand of the Yugoslav leadership, Yugoslavia must enter an economically completely new situation which would be adequate to the contribution to peace in these regions.

[Reporter] How would you comment on the Bosnian Serb's decision to take UN soldiers hostage?

[Zotov] We are really annoyed by the situation that has been created with that act. Unfortunately, the local leadership resorted to these extreme actions. We do share the concern of our colleagues in the international community and particularly feel solidarity with the countries taking part in peacekeeping operations and whose soldiers have been taken hostages or used as human shields, just as has been done with Russian soldiers.

Meets With Milosevic

LD3005110695 *Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1025 GMT 30 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—President Slobodan Milosevic this morning received Ambassador Aleksandar Zotov, the Russian president's special envoy, the president's office reports.

Their talks focused on the most important aspects of the crisis and the latest escalation in the fighting.

Serbia and Russia share compatible views with regard to a political solution to the crisis, and share the firm belief that no military solution is possible to the problem in the area of former Yugoslavia. This is why unblocking the peace process and replacing the use of force with negotiations is the first step which the international community and the warring sides should take. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will consistently pursue its peace policy and strive to find a solution through negotiations. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia expects the international community to lift sanctions.

The talks were also attended by the Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, and Russia's Ambassador to Belgrade Gennadiy Shikin.

Jovanovic Discusses Foreign Policy Stand

On Serb Unification, NATO

AU2905163595 *Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 May 95*

[Report by Vera Rakin on the session of the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly in Belgrade on 29 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Rakin] By voting confidence in the Federal Government, the deputies of the FRY Assembly Citizens Chamber concluded the first session of the regular spring convocation that (?was interrupted) at the end of March. Sixty-two deputies voted in favor of confidence in Prime Minister Kontic's cabinet, one was against, and eight abstained. After the confidence vote, the agenda was established whereby the new, second session of the first regular convocation of the Citizens Chamber has opened.

On the occasion of the proposal issued by Serbian Radical Party deputy Milorad Jevric that the chamber should discuss the unification of the Serb Republic [RS] and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], as well as the NATO air strikes on Serb positions, Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic spoke on behalf of the Federal Government.

[Jovanovic] Regarding the unification of sections of Serbian peoples, we should have a clear stand on that, the stand that this country has had from the very beginning, and that is that the right to self-determination is an indisputable right of every one of the former constituent peoples, and we still take this stand.

On the other hand, this right to self-determination has various forms of realization. One of these forms is unification, albeit this not the only one and it is not obligatory if the situation, the conditions under which we are, does not permit that and will demand a disastrous price for that. For that reason, it is very important for us, the people who bear responsibility for this country, to found our policy on the objective evaluation of the reality and not become involved in anything that is not well thought out or will have results that are [words indistinct] beneficial to us.

We have a situation in which one of the Serbian states, the RS, is in a state of war, in a civil war. We have the other Serbian state, the RSK, which is in a special relation to the United Nations. We have the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], which is not in a state

of war. Any forced mixing and unification of these Serbian states would lead us and our people living in the other two Serbian states into a very grave and, as I would put it, disastrous situation, which we, being responsible people, cannot decide in favor of if we do not have an alternative. And there is an alternative: It is in recognizing the right to self-determination of the Serbian people in the RS both on the basis of the Contact Group plan and on the basis of other statements and assurances that we have been given from all sides.

Therefore, the Republic of Serbian Krajina [as heard] as a state entity may realize its statehood in this future loose union of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as realize all forms of connecting with the FRY through the form of confederation. This is not an alternative that should be neglected, as war is not necessary and indispensable, nor need we agree with [word indistinct] war, which would certainly result from such a forced unification if this is not necessary and if we are sure that it would bring very grave consequences for our entire people.

Regarding the bombing, we have always condemned the use of force as the way to solve problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina and elsewhere, and we have done so now as well. Bombing is not a form of negotiating, it is a form of (?coercion), a form of using force and we condemn that form of using force as any other forms, including those forms of using force against UN peace troops who are not there to impose a solution, but to preserve peace in the conditions of a very great instability and (?complexity) in this former Yugoslav republic.

Therefore, we, as the Federal Government, do not see any need for this Federal Assembly session to discuss the proposed item of the agenda as a (?separate one), above all because the situation does not require that, as the proposed unification is not an expression of opportunity, reality, or necessity. This would, above all, lead the entire (?development) in a wrong direction. It would lead all of us into an uncontrolled and dangerous risk. The world, which is strongly united against us anyway, would become even more monolithic. In such a situation, any possible acceptance of such a proposal on forced unification would mean a recipe for national and state catastrophe. [passage omitted]

Terms of Republics' Recognition

LD2905141595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 29 May, (TANJUG)—Vladislav Jovanovic, federal minister for foreign affairs, today told the Yugoslav Assembly

that only his government has the constitutional powers to possibly recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

Talking to assembly reporters, Jovanovic stressed that "it is the government which articulates and conducts foreign and internal policies, while the assembly has legislative and control functions," and that there is no formal obligation to consult the assembly chambers in the event of possible recognition of other republics.

"It is another question, though, whether and when this recognition will take place," Jovanovic stressed.

According to the federal minister, Yugoslavia has since the beginning of the crisis kept an open door to recognition, but that this also implies solutions to the political problems arising from the departure of former Yugoslav republics.

"The problems must be first solved, or else the process of resolving them has to reach the final stage so Yugoslavia can then consider the question of recognition in a topical way," Jovanovic stressed.

"This is the general view which has not changed and which we advocate in all our contacts," he made it clear, and added that this recognition will not be considered without "an adequate element of compensation in the political part of a solution to the global problem."

Jovanovic added that the contacts were of a discreet nature and that he cannot reveal any details.

Asked about possible conditions as regards autonomy for certain areas, Jovanovic reiterated that the talks are being conducted in a serious, constructive, and comprehensive manner.

Use of Force 'Unacceptable'

AU2905193895 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 May 95

[Report by Sonja Djuric—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Djuric] [Passage omitted] During many assembly recesses, Foreign Minister Jovanovic was showered by journalists' questions concerning the situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Among other things, he told journalists the following:

[Jovanovic] We in the federal government have already assessed the situation as very worrying, not only because of the escalation of the use of force by all sides. Under this we mean the unacceptable use of force on the part of NATO and on the part of the Serbian Republic regarding the treatment of UN soldiers, but also because a promising peace process that continued in parallel both concerning Bosnia-Herzegovina and relations between Knin and Zagreb, was meanwhile crudely attacked,

undermined, and, I would say, even called into question. This is something worrying and a cause for concern as this latest development gives food to all factors who see solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and generally on the territory of Yugoslavia in imposing their own solutions and in using arms. This is an alternative that is unacceptable both to us and to the peoples living there, but also to the major part of the international community.

This is why we think that the escalation of violence in any form must be stopped as soon as possible and that an elementary feeling of security must be established for everybody living there, so that negotiations on a political solution could start as soon as possible and finally lead to a just [word indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Lifting of Sanctions

AU2805201295 Belgrade RTB Television Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 28 May 95

[Report by Nada Dragic Radosavljevic on news conference by FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic with foreign and domestic reporters in Belgrade on 28 May; recorded—Jovanovic statements in English with station's superimposed simultaneous translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Dragic Radosavljevic] I am very concerned by the events in Bosnia, Foreign Minister Jovanovic said to the gathered international reporters. The FRY is opposed to the use of force because force cannot assist peace. Dropping bombs is not in the vocabulary of peace, the chief of Yugoslav diplomacy emphasized:

[Jovanovic] For that reason we cannot accept and we condemn the actions of the Bosnian Serb leadership who are holding a certain number of UN troops hostage. We are opposed to any sort of violence against the UN troops in Bosnia. These forces are still the best solution. Any replacement of these troops would only bring a catastrophe to Bosnia and this should be kept in mind to avoid further escalation and deterioration of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We call on all sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina and all key international factors, including the United Nations, to put aside all forms of the use of force and allow peace to be reestablished and talks to resume in order to definitely end the war and implement a political solution in the former Yugoslav republics, that is, in Bosnia.

[Dragic Radosavljevic] Minister Jovanovic on this occasion reiterated that the Serbs from Bosnia must embrace the Contact Group plan for a peaceful resolution of the crisis on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. He emphasized that it happens almost as a matter of rule that whenever any progress is achieved

in the peace process some negative events interrupt it and reverse the peace process. This was also the case with the Croatian aggression in western Slavonia which occurred at the moment when progress was made in the economic talks.

Foreign reporters were particularly interested in the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia. The chief of Yugoslav diplomacy voiced a belief that the day when the sanctions against Yugoslavia will be lifted is not far off, because they are punishing a country that is a factor of peace:

[Jovanovic] Sanctions have lost all moral, political, or legal grounds. They are the means of extracting unprincipled concessions from Yugoslavia and as such they are complicating the existing crises and pose the main obstacle to the peace efforts to accomplish the logical goal, namely, a just and lasting peace in Bosnia and between Knin and Zagreb. For this same reason we insisted that the United Nations make a decision on total lifting of sanctions. Increasingly more countries—Yugoslavia's neighbors but also more distant countries—are growing aware that the sanctions are not merely counterproductive but have a negative impact on the stability and prosperity in this region. This is why a number of neighboring countries which form the so-called group of five have launched an initiative for the lifting of sanctions. They have already submitted their requests to the United Nations and the number of countries wishing to join this initiative is growing daily as some factors and countries such as the Vatican, Italy, China, and Russia also insist on the need to lift the sanctions.

Now that we are faced with the situation in Bosnia and around it, we are requesting the lifting of sanctions as the shortest and surest way to stop further escalation of the war there and means of shortening the way toward a fast, just, and lasting political situation for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Dragic Radosavljevic] The participants in the international reporters' gathering then left for Donji Milanovac where they will discuss the topic of this year's gathering—informing and the flow of information at the doorstep of the 21st century.

Serbia

SPO: Hostage-Taking 'Shame' to Serbian Nation
AU2905203495 Belgrade RTB Television Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pictures of arrested UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] soldiers that the media, above all the television, have been broadcasting around

the world have undoubtedly contributed to the satanization of Bosnian Serbs, as well as the Serbian people in general. Hazardous actions, current profits, and lack of political wisdom will undoubtedly influence the creation of a new picture about us, although Belgrade's peace policy is obvious.

With television propaganda footage showing UN peace force soldiers tied to columns, the Pale propaganda headquarters achieved a great victory, but it is a victory against the Serbian people's historical honor, it is said in today's statement by the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO].

This shameful footage has been shown by all world televisions and press along with the commentary that this barbaric act was perpetrated by Serbs, therefore, all Serbs, the entire nation. This was exactly what Pale strategists wanted; it is their main strategic aim to pull the whole of the Serbian people into a catastrophic war conflict with the entire world, it is pointed out at the end of the SPO announcement.

Opposition Parties React to NATO Attacks

*AU2905082595 Belgrade NASA BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 26 May 95 p 3*

[Unattributed report on Serbian opposition parties' reaction to NATO air strikes on Bosnian Serbs around Pale on 25 May]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Vuk Draskovic: Extremists From Pale Are Inviting a Catastrophe

I am afraid that today's bombardment has also announced bombs on the peace process at the very time when peace as a real hope was in sight. It looks as if events have taken a turn toward a total war and catastrophe, which the militant Serbs, Muslims, and Croats have been wanting for some time.

The extremists from Pale and their supporters in Serbia have come one step closer to the desired aim, toward unsurmised death, and toward Serbia and Montenegro being drawn into a general and horrible war according to the "whatever the price" recipe at a time when they were just about to have the sanctions lifted. No one is working against the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and against our people as a whole as are the so-called patriots who believe that a national catastrophe is our national obligation. With their stupidity they are working against themselves.

I fear of what could follow if the Pale leadership tries to realize its threats and attack the peacekeeping forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This would prompt heavy

bombardment, followed undoubtedly by the world's land forces' reprisal, similar to the one that took place in Iraq.

Vojislav Kostunica: Bombs on Serbs, Help to Muslims

Judging by everything, the latest NATO attack on the Serb positions near Pale is yet another in a series of similar actions of this military organization with the blessing of the international community.

Force has again been demonstrated and it has again been used only against one side in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is not unusual, bearing in mind the open military cooperation and help that the Bosnian Muslims are receiving from those who allegedly care about peace. Although the warning concerning the return of heavy weapons given to both sides, force was only used against one—the Serbs.

I do not know what the effects of this action will be, but there is no doubt that this will be counterproductive for peace.

Aleksandar Vucic: Attack Carried Out in Coordination With Milosevic

The Serbian Radical Party takes the view that the bombing of the Serb positions around Pale represents yet another in a series of the international community's crimes committed in coordination with Slobodan Milosevic and aimed against the Serb people in the Serb Republic, Aleksandar Vucic, secretary general of the Serbian Radical Party, told NASA BORBA.

"The unprovoked NATO attack cannot be explained in any other way but as the wish of the Serbian president to get rid of the legally and legitimately elected leadership of the Serb Republic led by Radovan Karadzic.

"The Radicals suggest to the Army of the Serb Republic to retaliate against all positions of the Muslim army in Sarajevo, as well as the east Bosnian enclaves," Vucic said.

SPS's Vucelic: Serb Unification Proposal 'Scam'

*AU2705191495 Belgrade RTB Television Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 27 May 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] In light of the initiative by the Serbian Radical Party in the Serbian Assembly to open a debate about the decision of the Serbian Republic and the Republic of Serbian Krajina to unite, Milorad Vucelic, head of the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) bench, said that only internationally recognized states can unite and that in order to achieve this the peace process must be continued, the peace plan embraced,

and the Serb Republic and its confederal link with Serbia and Yugoslavia internationally acknowledged. This is the way championed by the SPS. Instead of the peace option, Seselj's Radicals advocate war which will definitely endanger and bring into question the striving and the interests of the entire Serbian nation.

The aim of the proposal for the alleged unification is not all Serbs in one state but all Serbs in war and suffering. Let us hear what else Vucelic said about the true intentions of those who had raised this proposal in an interview to a Dnevnik 2 reporter:

[Begin recording] I believe that this does not involve a unification proposal but a scam. Namely, one neither can nor aspire to accomplish the unification of the Serbian lands and the unification of the Serbian people with such proposals and initiatives but has the unification of the forces of war in mind. The mere continuation of the war situation and the rejection of peace suit the warmongering party bloc that has emerged in Serbia and the warmongers in general, who are scoring their political points and finding the reason for their political existence in this.

Another important aspect that should be stressed is that countries at peace normally unite. If a war-torn country is unifying with a country that is at peace then this means involving the country at peace in the war. This, therefore, represents an attempt to drag Serbia, Montenegro, and Yugoslavia into a war. This is the basis and the true essence of this proposal. [end recording].

Kosovo

NATO Air Strikes Show 'Positive Persistence'

AU2605174095 *Pristina Kosova Daily Report*
in English 26 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] [Passage omitted] President Rugova told the reporters also that the persecution campaign of Albanian youngsters for forceful recruitment in the Serbian army has been continuing with impunity. "Over the past week alone, seven Albanian youngsters were forcefully taken to Serbian Army, and sentenced at military courts," Dr. Rugova said. [passage omitted]

Commenting the presence of Kosovo in the international stage, President Rugova hailed the approval of an amendment in the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee related to the opening of an American office in Prishtina. He hoped that the amendment will be approved in the Senate. In this respect, President Rugova called on EU countries to consider opening of similar offices in Kosovo. President Rugova hailed the persistence of President Clinton to bring to an end the ongoing war in Bosnia, and demanded international steps to prevent the spread of the conflict in Kosovo.

Asked to comment the shelling of Serb position in Bosnia by NATO aircraft, President Rugova said that it showed a positive persistence of the international community to stop the war and to find a political solution to the crisis in Bosnia, and elsewhere in former Yugoslavia.

"We support any talks, under the mediation of a third party, on concrete issues," said President Rugova in reply to questions related to an initiative of American trade unions for a dialogue between trade unions of Kosova and Serbia, and added that it is on them to decide on the topic of talks. [passage omitted]

Rugova Welcomes U.S. Move for Pristina Office

AU3005095595

[Editorial Report] Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian on 27 May carries on pages one and three a 1,400-word report by Behxhet Haliti on a news conference given by Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, in Prishtina on 26 May, under the title: "Diplomatic Offices: Preventive Measures for Kosova"]

Rugova is reported as saying, "We welcome the request of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee to open an office in Kosova as soon as possible. We believe that this proposal will pass through the Senate very fast and that the U.S. Office will open in Prishtina very soon."

According to the report, Rugova also spoke about "24 police raids" in Kosova during the previous week, and the harassment of Albanian political activists, schoolteachers, and peasants by the Serbian police.

The report continues: "Commenting on a journalist's question about the initiative of the Free American Trade Unions addressed to the Independent Trade Unions of Kosova for dialogue with the Serbian side, President Rugova said that, as far as contacts between our trade unions and other trade unions are concerned, our trade unions will decide for themselves. However, in the presence of a third party, i.e. in the presence of the American trade unions, specific issues that the trade unions will put forward may be discussed. We have attempted to make contacts before, but they did not turn out successfully. Humanitarian workers came from Serbia and talked to representatives of the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms and the Helsinki Committee, but they remained mere contacts because these people represented groups without any influence in Belgrade. As for dialogue, everybody knows who can talk. We have held our elections. We have our institutions. We have our political parties and groups. We are not depriving anybody of the right to talk, but everybody knows who can talk about what."

Serb Police Raid Albanian Homes, Harass LDK
AU2605181095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina Kosova Daily Report in English No. 623 on 26 May carries several reports on Serbian arrests of Albanian youngsters "forcibly to conscript" them into the FRY army and cites cases of Serbian police repression in various areas in the province.

It is reported that the Serbian police in Kamenica summoned three members of the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) branch Presidency in Kamenica to "so-called police informative talks" and questioned them "about the activities of the LDK in the region, their meetings," as well as about "LDK leaders."

On 24 May, the Serbian police arrested an Albanian youth from the village of Stanovac in Vucitrn. The LDK Information Commission in Vucitrn says that the youth "may have been forcibly conscripted into the Serbian Army." On the same day, the Serbian police raided the home of an Albanian resident at the village of Smrekovnice and sent him to the "Serbian army to complete his military service."

Another report points out that last night, the Serbian finance police raided a private Albanian bar in Pristina. The LDK sources report that on 25 May, a market day in Istog, a Serbian police expedition raided the premises of the town market and "harassed and plundered many Albanian merchants."

A report from Vucitrn says that on 24 May, the Serbian police raided the homes of five Albanians at Stanovci Ulet village in a "search for arms." The five were "detained after the raid" and were reportedly subjected to "several ill-treatment while in custody."

On 24 May, the Serbian police in Prizren detained the owner of a house where secondary medical school students were holding classes. The man was released after being "interrogated and ill-treated." On 24 May, the Serbian police raided the homes of three Albanians from the village of Vrelle in Istog "under the pretext of arms searches." The Serbian police also arrested another resident in Istog and searched the home of his brother.

On 24 May, the Serbian police stationed in Kijeve raided the home of an Albanian at the village of Vermice in Malisevo "under the pretext of arms searches." Under the same pretext, the Serbian police raided the home of a resident in the village of Carralluge.

Report Views Serb Police Raids, Repression
AU3005074895

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina Kosova Daily Report in English No. 620, No. 621, and No. 622 on 23, 24, and 25 May carries several reports on Serbian police raids on Albanian homes and cites cases of "repression" in various areas in the province.

A report on 23 May notes that on 21 May, the Serbian police broke up an indoor agriculture convention in the village of Pestove, Vucitrn, and "harassed dozens of participants and conveners." The Serb policemen checked the participants' ID's and "forced them out" after "insulting and harassing several of them." The police seized all written documents and the equipment used for display purposes in lectures. Four of the meeting organizers were arrested by the police and sentenced to 10 days in prison each in "so-called summary proceedings." Kosova Democratic League (LDK) sources in Vucitrn report that several other participants at the meeting were "ordered to report" to the Serbian police station in Vucitrn.

A report from Mitrovica notes that on 22 May, a Serbian police patrol raided a secondary school located at a private home in the Tavnik district of Mitrovica. The Serbian policemen "intruded" into the classrooms "breaking up" lessons and "intimidating dozens of students and teachers." Sources in Mitrovica say that the Serbian policemen stayed at the school several hours and prevented the afternoon shift students from entering the building.

According to a 23 May report, sources in Vucitrn say that the Serbian police and army have stepped up the campaign for "hunting down draft-age Albanians" in the municipality. The Serbian police arrested an Albanian resident in Novokaz village and sent him to the Serbian military court in Nis. The police also raided the home of another Albanian youth from Pasome village. Various other cases of draft-age youths being rounded up to serve or to complete military service in the Serbian army have been reported.

LDK sources report on 24 May that the Serbian police in Orahovac arrested LDK branch secretary Salih Hoti as he awaited a bus to participate in a regular LDK meeting in Pristina. The activist was "interrogated about the activities of the LDK in Orahovac and the region and of the Education Funding Council."

It is reported from Prizren that on 19 May, the Serbian police raided the home of a former employee of the Prizren Radio Station under the pretext of an arms search. After the raid, the police ordered him to report at the police station the next day, where he was subject to

"brutal police torture." A report from Vucitrn says that on 23 May, the Serbian police arrested three Albanians from Pestove village under the "alleged suspicion of being in possession of arms." One of those arrested, an officer with the Education Funding Council, was reported "beaten up severely."

A report on 25 May states that a Radio Tirana sports correspondent in Pristina was detained by Serbian police twice this week. The correspondent told the Kosova Information Center today that he was apprehended on a Pristina street on 22 May by a Serbian police patrol and sent to the police station, where he was "interrogated for over three hours" about sports activities in Kosovo. The police seized a tape recorder, a camera, and membership cards of the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists, and one of the League of Kosovo Journalists.

On 23 May, a Serbian police patrol apprehended a teacher in the vicinity of a local elementary school in Gillogovc and "beat him up" in front of his pupils

under the excuse that he had a photograph of a protest rally of Albanians. Sources in Glogovac report that the teacher was subsequently "sent to the police station" together with a 14-year-old pupil and they were subject to "additional ill-treatment."

The Serbian police arrested a presidency member of the LDK branch in Glogovac, who was subject to "severe ill-treatment during the whole time." A photographer with the Glogovac branch of the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms was reported "ill-treated" by a Serbian police patrol on 12 May. The next day, the Serbian police raided his shop in Glogovac and seized large amounts of photographs and equipment.

It is reported from Vucitrn that a resident from the village of Dolak was arrested by the Serbian police on 23 May, held for over six hours "in custody," and interrogated about a UNIKOMB (National Unity Party) meeting in which he had participated earlier in the year. He was reportedly subject to "physical ill-treatment."

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